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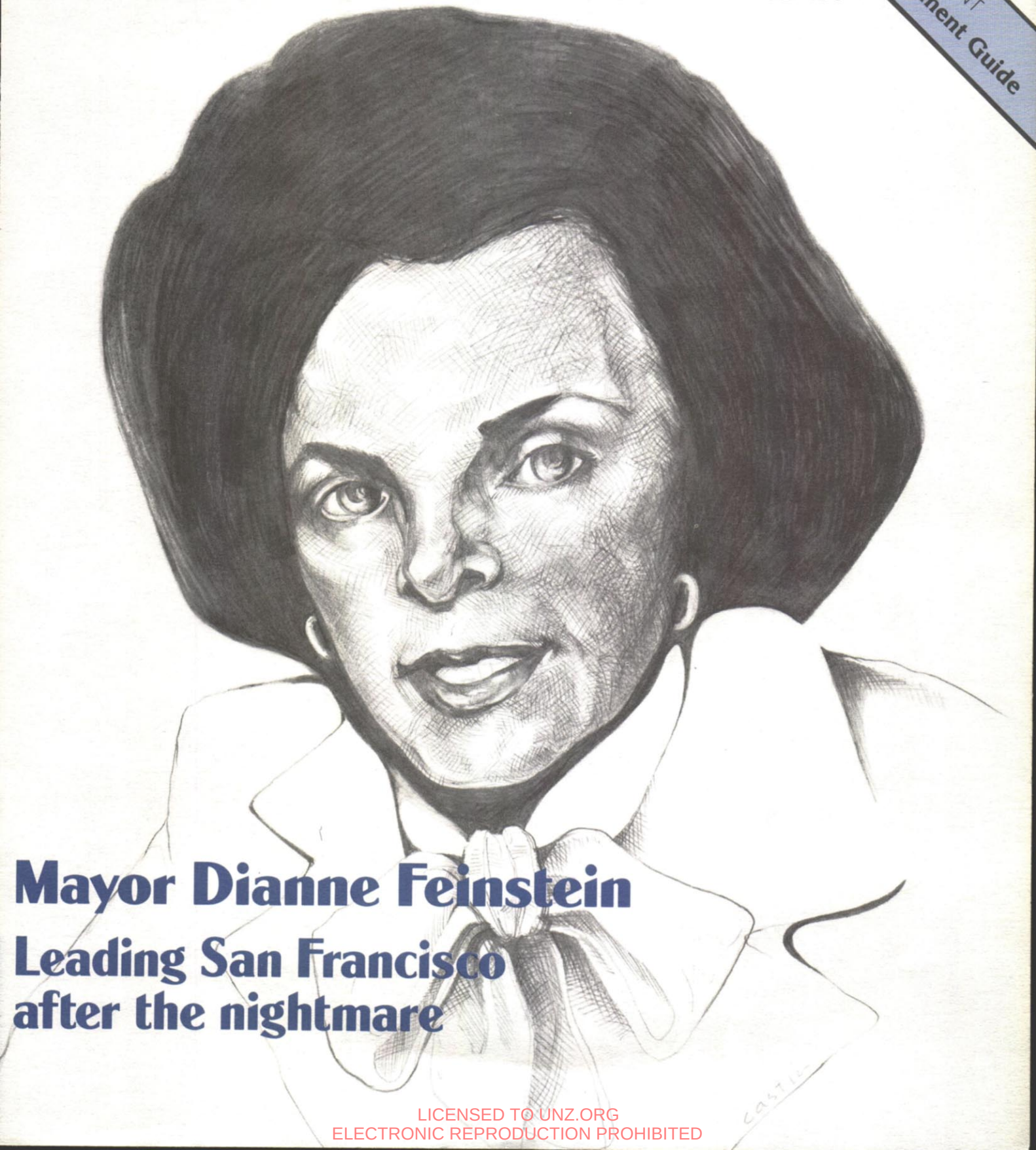
'79 Roster and Government Guide



Mayor Dianne Feinstein

Leading San Francisco after the nightmare

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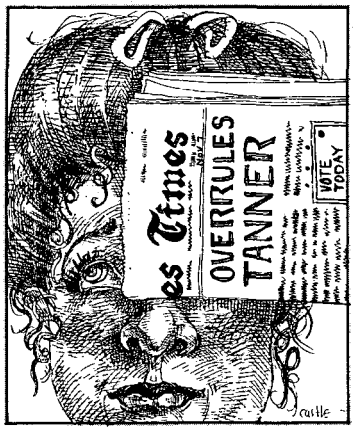
Personal

PERSPECTIVE

By Ed Salzman



Tale of two stories

On election day, November 7th, the *Los Angeles Times* published a front-page article stating:

"The California Supreme Court has decided to overturn a 1975 law that requires prison terms for persons who use a gun during a violent crime, but has not made the decision public, well-placed court sources said Monday." The article said the decision was 4 - 3, with Chief Justice Rose Bird in the majority. The *Times* piece continued: "The sources said that announcement of the decision is being delayed by Associate Justice Mathew O. Tobriner, who has been one of Ms. Bird's strong supporters against a well-organized campaign to win voter disapproval of her appointment to the court."

That article may have been partially responsible for the fact that Bird was retained in office by a mere 52 - 48 margin, the lowest in history. It was primarily responsible for creating a furor which resulted in Bird herself requesting that the state Commission on Judicial Performance investigate the charges against the court. For if Tobriner or Bird had delayed publication of a case for political purposes, that certainly would be grounds for removal from the bench.

On December 22nd, the *Times* ran another front-page article on the so-called *Tanner* case. It began: "The fact that four justices wrote four separate opinions in a controversial gun-law case is what prevented the California Supreme Court from issuing a decision before the November election, court sources said Thursday." The article went on to trace the complex intra-court circulation of written opinions that apparently delayed publication of the case until that day. There was no mention of the election-day story, even though the *Times* was now saying, in effect, that it was erroneous.

It isn't often that the state's highest court is placed under a cloud of suspicion. It isn't often that the chief justice of the Supreme Court has her integrity challenged and faces possible removal from office. It isn't often that the senior member of a high court is accused of running political interference for a colleague. The November 7th article was no ordinary piece of journalism that could be corrected casually six weeks later as though it had never run.

Unlike many other large newspapers, the *Times* has not seen fit to appoint an ombudsman — a reporter or editor who critiques the newspaper and handles complaints from the readers. If the *Times* had an ombudsman on duty, the handling of the *Tanner* case would probably be under heavy internal investigation, and the public would learn the results of such a probe.

The handling of the *Tanner* story is out of character for the state's most prestigious newspaper. The *Times* rarely runs unsubstantiated charges and must be given extremely high marks for competence and responsibility.

All newspapers make mistakes, however, and this may have been one of them. If the December 22nd article is true (and thus the November 7th story false), the *Times* owes its readers nothing less than a full explanation. It also owes Bird and Tobriner a formal retraction and apology.

California Journal

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If the State Bar takes a severe drubbing from the Assembly judiciary committee this year, here's the reason: On two occasions, the Bar's board of governors turned thumbs down on a proposed judgeship for Assemblyman Jack Fenton of Montebello. This year, Fenton arranged his revenge by getting himself appointed chairman of the judiciary committee, which handles most Bar legislation.

Mike Curb stories have replaced ethnic jokes in the Capitol. One of them: During the campaign, Curb was paying the traditional visit to a newspaper editor, this time Norman Cherniss of the *Riverside Press-Enterprise*. At the end of the meeting, Curb asked Cherniss, "Is there anything I can do for you?" The response: "Publish my song."

They ought to arrange a testimonial dinner for Fred Taugher, chief administrative officer of the Assembly rules committee. Taugher holds the modern longevity record for the delicate job — all of five years.

Palmer Stinson, a former Oakland police captain and a state law-enforcement consultant, is about to publish findings that Proposition 13 has actually prevented improvement of some police departments in the state. The reason: By maintaining status quo following 13, the Legislature prevented a revamping of departments that would have provided fewer chiefs and more Indians.

Circulating among state employees is an official-looking memorandum supposedly from Richard Silberman, the new state finance director and founder of the Jack-In-The-Box chain. It begins: "The state has recently entered into a contractual agreement with the Jack-In-The-Box restaurant chain to provide low-cost meals to state employees while on state business. Your blue General Services charge card will now be accepted at all of the conveniently located Jack-In-The-Box restaurants in California." It adds this reminder: "Government code section 30864 prohibits state employees from purchasing onion rings 30 minutes prior to meeting with other state employees or the public."

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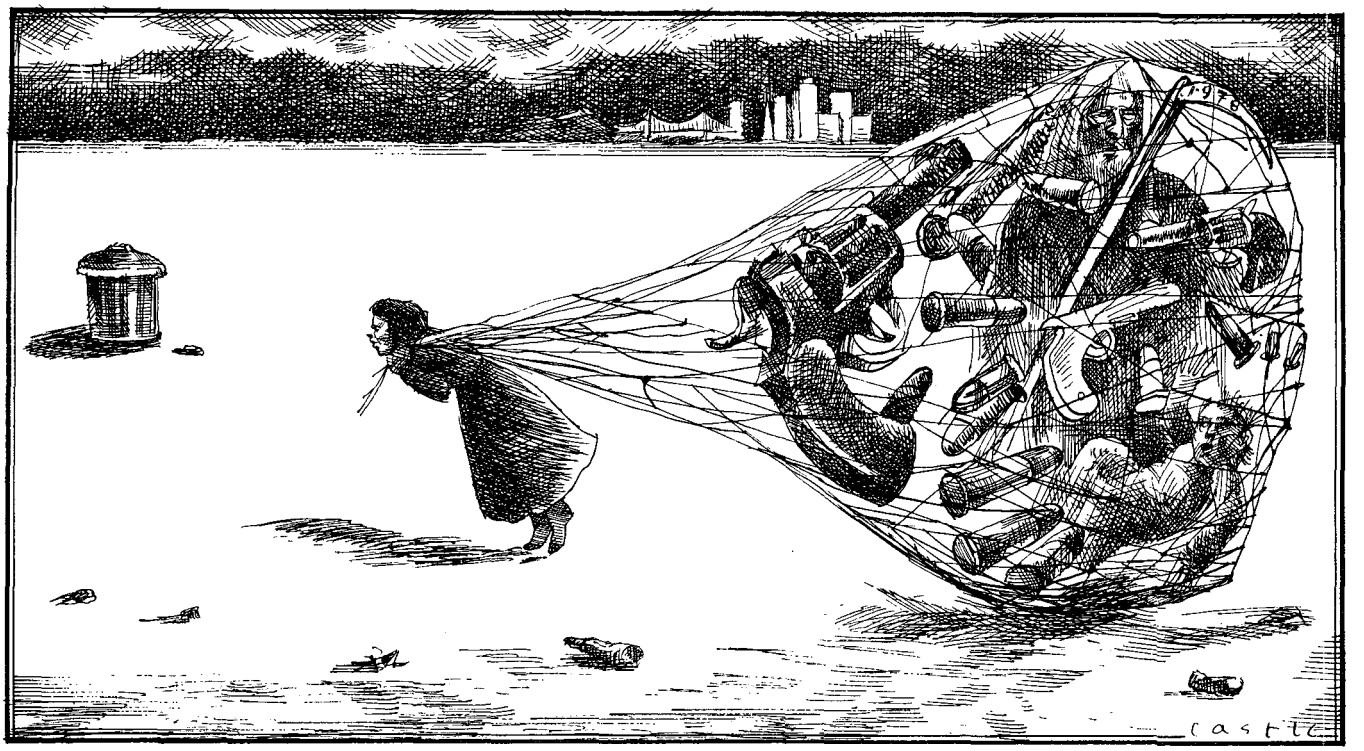
RETIREMENT OF THE RUBBER STAMP



The centrist politics of San Francisco's new mayor

By Jerry Burns

The murders of George Moscone and Harvey Milk, both gunned down shortly before noon on Monday, November 27th, will have profound, long-term effects on the politics of San Francisco.

This is a city which spent the last six weeks of 1978 in a state of shock over the unbelievable events in the remote jungles of Guyana and in the dignified offices of City Hall. Political leaders urged the public to remain calm in the face of back-to-back tragedies, the likes of which San Francisco hadn't experienced since the fire and earthquake of 1906. But they were also assessing the deep political changes that would come from the killings in City Hall. To a lesser extent, there will undoubtedly be other political changes resulting from the mass deaths in South America of the followers of the Reverend Jim Jones. After all, Jones was a former San Francisco city official and confidant of key Democrats in the city, state and nation, as well as the leader of his San Francisco-based People's Temple.

To understand how San Francisco's double nightmares are likely to affect its political future, it is necessary to look behind the grisly headlines. The murders at City Hall snuffed out the lives of two of the city's most liberal politicians. George Moscone, a local boy and one-time high school basketball hero, was a tall, handsome, aristocratic man who was elected mayor in 1975. That election climaxed a political career that started on the Board of Supervisors, the 11-member body which functions as both city council and county board for San Francisco, the only combined city and county in California. Moscone proceeded to a distinguished career in the state Senate, where he was majority leader. In each political forum, his credentials as a bona fide liberal were impeccable. His closest allies in San Francisco politics were other mainstays of liberal views: Congressman Phil Burton, Assemblyman Willie Brown, former supervisor Jack Morrison.

The second victim, Harvey Milk, was the most liberal member of the Board of Supervisors. His background was not mainstream Democratic liberalism, like Moscone's, but something entirely different and perhaps unique to San Francisco, with its enormous and open homosexual community. Milk was a former Wall Street employee from New York, who came west to live the homosexual life he had successfully hidden from his family for the first three decades of his life. He opened a small camera store in the area of Market and Castro streets, one of the centers of gay life in the city, and entered politics in the early 1970s as an openly gay candidate for supervisor and then for the State Assembly.

Milk crossed swords, politically, with Moscone and other establishment liberals by running for the Assembly. After an unsuccessful race for supervisor in 1975, Milk was named by newly elected Mayor Moscone to a seat on the powerful Board of Permit Appeals, a city commission which has the power to overrule many other city agencies on a wide variety of police, building and zoning permit issues.

Jerry Burns is a political writer for the San Francisco Chronicle.

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Moscone's appointment of an openly gay person to an important city commission was part of his program to bring heretofore unrepresented or under-represented groups into city government. The appointment of Milk was widely hailed in liberal and gay circles, but Moscone fired him a few months later. That was after Milk, a political maverick, decided to run in the Democratic primary against Art Agnos, then an aide to Speaker Leo McCarthy, for the 16th Assembly District seat given up by John Foran. Moscone and other Democratic Party leaders warned Milk not to challenge Agnos, but the high-spirited, independent-minded commissioner did it anyway. He lost the primary and the commission seat.

Setting the stage

Although he lost every early election attempt, Milk's political activities set the stage for his victory in the 1977 supervisorial elections. He became recognized as a viable candidate and as a major spokesman for the homosexual community. At about the same time, momentum was building for the adoption of district election of supervisors in San Francisco. When district elections finally came, after nearly a decade of squabbling over the issue, Milk was the best known gay candidate in the new 5th District, an area in the center of the city that includes the liberal/gay neighborhoods of Noe Valley, Upper Market and Castro Village and the liberal Haight Ashbury.

Milk and the Democratic establishment clashed again, this time because the party's County Central Committee chose to endorse a non-gay in the 5th District, a seat gays felt they must win if they were to win any of the new 11 district seats. The election was bitter, with a number of well-financed gay and non-gay candidates. While he failed to win a majority, Milk won the election because the city didn't then have a run-off provision. (It now does.) He became San Francisco's first openly gay elected official and one of the first in California and the nation.

Milk was an intrepid political adventurer who plunged into controversies at every opportunity. For example: Dan White, an intense, young former policeman and fireman, was elected supervisor from the new 8th District. Last year he suddenly resigned for financial reasons and then just as suddenly attempted to cancel his resignation, asking Mayor Moscone to reappoint him to his seat on the board. It was Milk who strongly and openly urged Moscone to ignore White's pleas and appoint someone else. Milk argued that White was the most anti-gay supervisor and should be replaced by someone more sympathetic to gay rights in San Francisco.

Milk's entry into the Dan White controversy — although a typical example of his independent, aggressive nature — violated the unwritten rule that keeps most elected officials from interfering in their colleagues' political fortunes. It may have also cost him his life, since White was charged with murdering both Moscone and Milk.

An end to power

The killings plunged everyone into a state of shock. But the effects were particularly devastating in the city's liberal and gay communities, two substantially distinct political groups. For liberals, the murder of George Moscone abruptly ended their first real taste of power in City Hall in many years. Moscone had been the first bona fide liberal to be mayor in decades. Although most mayors have been Democrats, they have tended to be moderates with strong labor bases, such as Joe Alioto and Jack Shelley, or moderate Republicans such as George Christopher. The city regularly sends extreme liberals to Washington and Sacramento, but it keeps moderates in charge back home at City Hall.

For nearly three years, liberals controlled the major base of power in City Hall. Although they didn't like everything Moscone did, they were satisfied by his appointments of liberals to key city positions, including the selection of controversial Charles Gain as police chief. While he pleased his liberal constituents, Moscone outraged many moderate homeowners. Particularly in the nominally Democratic western neighborhoods of the city, Moscone's clear favoritism for liberals, gays and racial minorities in his appointments was resented. If Moscone was going to run for re-election in 1979 (and he insisted he would, despite rumors that he would get a high federal appointment from the Carter Administration so that liberals could field a fresh candidate for mayor), he was going to have trouble with those residents of the neighborhoods west of Twin Peaks, the twin hills that bisect the city along a north-south axis.

Political aides tested the winds for the 1979 mayoral race with private polls. They showed that Moscone could still beat any of his probable challengers in head-to-head competition, even if his general rating as a mayor was not high. His re-election was by no means a certainty, since he had won by barely two percentage points in 1975 over John Barbagelata, an extremely conservative Republican supervisor. Also, Moscone had done little in office to win over the hearts, and votes, of the high turn-out, largely white, western neighborhoods where Barbagelata had been strongest. One of Barbagelata's closest political allies, Supervisor Quentin Kopp, a conservative-to-moderate Democrat, had already announced his intention to challenge Moscone in 1979 and seemed to be a formidable opponent.

Mayor in the middle

The murders erased that scenario, of course. Moscone was succeeded, at first on a temporary basis and then permanently, by Dianne Feinstein, who had been president of the Board of Supervisors. She immediately inherited the mayor's job under the rules of emergency succession set out in the City Charter. A week later she was elected by her fellow supervisors to serve out the remaining 13 months of Moscone's four-year term.

Feinstein is a Democrat by registration but an independent in practice. Her views range from liberal on most social

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issues to moderate-to-conservative on fiscal matters and mostly conservative on law-and-order questions. In San Francisco politics, she is near the center of the political spectrum — which has proven to be a precarious perch in mayoral elections. She easily won three elections for supervisor (1969, 1973 and 1977), but she was beaten disastrously in two races for mayor (1971 and 1975).

The difference, many observers felt, was that Feinstein could win the supervisorial races — particularly when they were citywide and not by district — through media campaigns capitalizing on her good looks, her well-known name and her reputation as a bright, resourceful woman passionately committed to good government. But she could not win a mayor's race in which organized backing from political groups, especially labor unions, was of paramount importance in getting residents to register and to vote. In her two losing campaigns for mayor, Feinstein, in the center, was caught in the crossfire from the left and the right. Her political problem has been that she has attempted to do what she thought was right on most issues facing city government, without regard for the kinds of votes that build loyalty and future support. Unlike Moscone, Barbagelata or Kopp, she won few passionate supporters during her political career. No major power blocs have been firmly committed to supporting her.

Less than an hour before the murders at City Hall, Feinstein stopped in the City Hall press room to chat with reporters there about her recent mountaineering trip to Nepal. Was she considering another run at the mayor's job in 1979, they asked. "Not this time," she laughed. But it was clear that the 45-year-old politician — who was student body vice president at Stanford and the youngest-ever member of the state women's parole board in the early 1960s — still had her eye on the top job in City Hall. Unlike many politicians, Feinstein has never stopped believing that most public problems can be solved, and she has always wanted to try.

Her selection as mayor suddenly shifted the focus of political power in the city back toward the center. Feinstein, the city's first woman mayor and its first Jewish mayor since the 19th century, agreed that she was more moderate than Moscone. She announced just a few days after taking office that she would attempt to center a political pendulum that she felt had tilted toward the left in the past three years. She praised Moscone for bringing more minorities and women into city government. But she also promised to broaden representation even more to include white homeowners and small businessmen who felt locked out of the Moscone administration. The influence of moderates was further solidified last month when John Molinari — a moderate-to-liberal San Francisco Republican — was elected president of the Board of Supervisors, with Feinstein's blessing and assistance.

Mayor Feinstein sent out a series of messages in the first days of her new administration. Liberals were assured that she planned no wholesale changes in city boards and commissions and that she would attempt to work with Police Chief Gain. Moderates and conservatives were promised more chance to participate in city government. Of at least equal importance, labor leaders were told the new mayor would work with them to achieve pay raises for city workers and other goals.

These were important messages, and they seemed to spell out Feinstein's intention to run for mayor again this November, when she will bring the advantage of incumbency. If she is to win, she needs to head off any major challengers from the liberal and labor segments of city politics. Failing to do so could mean that she may be caught once again between the left and the right. Conservative forces will apparently field Supervisor Kopp as previously planned. Challengers from the left could include Assemblyman Brown, Assemblyman Art Agnos or District Attorney Joseph Freitas, a particularly close ally of many major unions.

Kopp, an inexhaustible campaigner, would be a tough challenger by himself, but his sharply anti-city-employee-union record would probably send union leaders into Feinstein's camp. Although she has also clashed with the unions, the battles have been less bitter than their running war with Kopp. If they can't stand Feinstein — and that's a possibility after she has to deal with their salary demands and the financial limits of the second post-Proposition 13 budget at the same time — they may look for another candidate.

Taking personal charge

Feinstein hasn't yet announced whether she will seek her own full term as mayor in this year's city elections, but it is generally expected that she will — unless a series of political blunders makes it clear that she won't be able to win. So far it doesn't look as if she has made any devastating mistakes. Instead, her first month in office was marked by an energy and enthusiasm for the work that seemed to be missing from the Moscone administration.

George Moscone was many good things, but no one ever accused him of being an active, involved administrator. He enjoyed the public side of being mayor, but he left most of the administrative chores up to his two top aides: Deputy Mayor Bernard Teitelbaum, Moscone's former assistant from his Sacramento days, and budget chief Rudy Nothenberg, Willie Brown's former sharp-penciled aide from the Legislature.

If there was any doubt that Mayor Feinstein intended to take a more active role in administration than Mayor Moscone had, it was removed within a few days of her taking office. One of her first official acts, conducted in the full and admiring view of the press, was to call city department heads to her office for a detailed discussion of their problems, including financing under Proposition 13, and an explanation of the new mayor's priorities. (After eight years as a supervisor, with an intense, full-time interest in city problems, Feinstein is the first mayor in recent years to come into office with an extensive background in nearly every facet of City Hall activity and with strong opinions on most matters.)

A few days later, Feinstein made it clear that she intended to take personal charge of the mayor's office by dressing down Nothenberg. She criticized him for recommending personnel changes (he had asked Public Utilities Commission members to dump their general manager in favor of an old Moscone political supporter) without consult-

California sex law update

Now you can be right up to the minute on the state of California's sex laws.

Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California have just published a 1979 supplement to its 178-page **Sex Code of California.** The 24-page booklet contains details on all changes in the sex laws enacted by the 1977-78 Legislature.

The **Sex Code**, published last year by the Planned Parenthood organization, tells you everything you might ever want to know about the state's laws on abortion, rape, venereal disease, incest, nudity, prostitution and dozens of other subjects.

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ing her. In the future, she told her aides and city commissioners, all major decisions coming out of the mayor's office would cross her desk first. Unlike George Moscone and Joe Alioto, Feinstein intended to be an administrative mayor and not a rubber stamp, even on minor matters.

The city's liberal political establishment seemed to accept Feinstein as mayor very readily, almost as if they sensed that a generally cooperative moderate in the mayor's office would be easy to live with and relatively easy to re-elect. Although they issued a few words of warning against any rapid dismantling of the liberal-oriented Moscone administration, liberal leaders such as Assemblyman Brown, District Attorney Freitas, Democratic Party chairman Agar Jaicks and the Burton brothers all indicated their support for the new mayor and their expectation that she would win election to her own term if she made no major mistakes in the next 10 months.

Conservative politicians were far less happy about the turn of events. Supervisor Kopp, who had expected a clearly defined, conservative-vs.-liberal battle with Moscone in 1979, bitterly opposed Feinstein's selection as mayor through the end of Moscone's term. Former Supervisor Barbagelata, now retired to the real estate business in the western part of the city, told a few reporters that Feinstein had promised to support Kopp in the next election and was violating that promise by accepting the interim job as mayor, with every indication she will run for election in November. Feinstein admitted that she had met a few times with former supervisors Barbagelata, Terry Francois and Al Nelder, all opponents of Moscone's policies, about forming a coalition to support Kopp against Moscone. But she denied reaching any conclusions or making any promises.

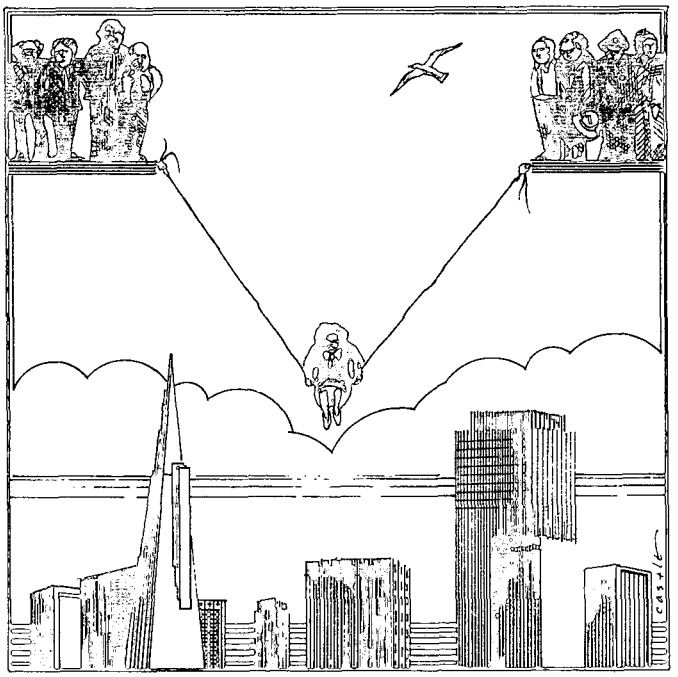
As for labor, it appeared to be cautiously approving of Mayor Feinstein. It is expected she will have less difficulty winning the support of unions which do business outside city government, such as the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, than she will with city employee unions. These unions remember her tough positions during their strikes and her support for ballot measures which drastically revised downward the way in which pay rates are set for most city workers.

Feinstein met with labor leaders a few days after she became mayor and asked for their support in guiding the city. Many union leaders were charmed by the new mayor. But representatives of city workers said they wanted to see what Feinstein would do to deliver the increased benefits package they want and how she would follow up on her stated belief that city workers deserve a pay raise as of July 1st. It's obvious that the unions will want much more than the mayor and the Board of Supervisors are willing to provide. So Feinstein's ability to work out a compromise will be one of her major tests as mayor.

Wary minorities

The city's growing minority political establishment is also wary of Feinstein, who opposed the change to district election of supervisors that most of the leaders in the Chinese, Black and Latino communities supported. Minority candidates, particularly Chinese candidates, have had surprising success in recent elections. Last November, Lillian Sing finished first in the school board race and Wilson Chang was the top finisher among 104 candidates for a new charter revision commission. But it will probably require one or two more elections until they will be ready to field their own candidate for mayor with a good chance of winning. Until then, they will continue to support liberal candidates or — in the event that liberals put their chips on Feinstein this year — they will probably support her.

San Francisco's liberal politicians, like the city itself, might be ready for a quiet period of healing and reconstruction, such as Feinstein has promised. The liberals have lost a mayor and a supervisor. And they were shocked, and probably damaged, by the incredible events in Guyana involving the Reverend Jim Jones. The People's Temple leader was a strong supporter of liberal politicians before he led his flock to South America. He had provided a platform for Governor Jerry Brown, Assemblyman Brown, Mayor Moscone and many others at his church on Geary Boulevard in the city's Fillmore district.



Jones, who had total control over his huge, multi-racial congregation, also provided campaign workers to distribute literature, to bathe favored politicians in enthusiastic applause on cue and to carry out other political chores. There were even claims that Jones imported People's Temple members from Mendocino County and Los Angeles, his two other strongholds, to vote for Moscone in 1975.

One of Jones' top aides, attorney Tim Stoen, became a top aide to District Attorney Freitas. Stoen played a key role in the district attorney's investigation of voter fraud charges involving another unique San Francisco group, Delancey Street. This ex-convict rehabilitation organization also supported Moscone and other liberals. He was accused, after the 1975 mayoral contest, of importing voters from its facilities in Marin County. Stoen's investigation concluded that there was no fraud, although Barbagelata, the loser in that election, and his supporters never accepted the conclusion.

It seems likely that the events in Guyana will guarantee that politicians in the city — who don't usually look too deeply into the motives behind offers of support — will think twice in the future and probably decline any aid from groups such as People's Temple or Delancey Street. Liberals like Moscone and Freitas were hard put to explain to the public their ties to Jim Jones after he and 900-odd followers died in Guyana. It's not a situation that other politicians are anxious to put themselves in, so it's likely that the important role in local politics that such groups have gained in recent years will diminish in future elections.

The events in City Hall and Guyana were setbacks to liberal politics in San Francisco, but not fatal ones. The city's liberal leaders will attempt to work with Feinstein, whom they'll probably support this year as they move to rebuild their strength for future battles. Particularly if they can maintain close ties with the emerging minority political leaders, and capitalize on growing political activity in the city's neighborhoods, the future for liberal politics is still bright. In the meantime, the political center, as represented by Feinstein, is in the driver's seat again.

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Unofficial state policy: open border with Mexico

By Ed Salzman

ILLUSTRATION BY DONNA RIVERS

Is there a significant message to be drawn from the fact there are loud California protests over Mexico's exportation of New River pollution but hardly a whisper over the flood of illegal immigrants entering the state each day? One conclusion: There is an unofficial state policy to maintain an open border with Mexico, and if that means a Latinization of the state, so be it.

Almost all the pressure to tighten the border between the United States and Mexico is coming from the Carter Administration. Governor Brown has extended the arm of friendship both to the Chicano community within the state and to the Mexican government, which is believed to control the largest oil reserve in the world. (The governor of Baja California attended Brown's inauguration last month.)

No one knows how many illegal aliens or "undocumented workers" there are in California, but a guess would be about 1.5 million or roughly 7 percent of the state's population. There are estimates that Los Angeles will have an Hispanic majority within 20 years unless the border is closed. Some 45 percent of the kindergartners in the Los Angeles city schools have Spanish surnames. The illegals have a heavy impact on virtually every aspect of life in Southern California. Yet, the state's politicians show little concern. Why?

- ***Chicano voters*** have not yet flexed their political muscles and threatened the supremacy of the whites and Blacks.
- ***Governor Brown has decided*** that the Mexican-American is the right political symbol for the 1970s and has chosen to "tilt" toward them. (See following article.)
- ***Democrats welcome*** more Chicano voters as a means of weakening the Republicans.
- ***Republicans fear arousing*** the state's huge Chicano population from its political slumber. Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb made a major effort to woo Hispanic voters, emphasizing that his Democratic grandmother was of Mexican descent.
- ***Republicans also recognize*** that as Chicanos move up the economic ladder, they are apt to vote the GOP line. In the last election, Chicanos went for Brown in a big way but otherwise voted about the same as the Anglo population.
- ***Politicians get no pressure*** from the business community or from the middle class to crack down on illegal immigration. That is because the undocumented workers generally take jobs that are hard to fill and that pay low wages. The middle class does not yet feel threatened by Chicanos in the economic marketplace, and business loves low-cost labor.
- ***California does not want to irritate*** Mexico now that it owns the state's probable future supply of petroleum.

A changing attitude

The state's attitude toward these undocumented workers has changed during the last few years. In 1971, the Legislature enacted a bill by then-Assemblyman Dixon Arnett, a Redwood City Republican, penalizing any employer knowingly hiring an illegal alien. The theory was that Mexicans cross the border primarily to get jobs and better their economic lot. The Arnett law was challenged by the California Legal Rural Assistance on behalf of a member of the United Farm Workers Union. The case, *de Canas v. Bica*, became embroiled in a complicated legal tangle. The United States Supreme Court declared the Arnett law valid but sent the case back to trial court to determine whether there was a conflict between state and federal laws. The Farm Workers

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then decided to drop the case, and the result was that the trial court never considered the conflict issue. Despite the Supreme Court finding, a low-court ruling against Arnett still stands and the law has never been enforced.

The state has made no effort since 1971 to crack down on undocumented workers. Since that time, all the pressure has come from the federal government and from other states along the so-called "tortilla belt." The Carter Administration proposed in 1977 that the following steps be taken:

- *Penalize employers who hire illegal aliens.*
- *Beef up patrols at the border, place immigration problems in the hands of a single new agency and construct fences at key crossing points.*
- *Encourage employment opportunities in Mexico and other countries through economic and technical assistance programs.*
- *Provide amnesty for undocumented workers meeting criteria established in the proposed legislation.*

The amnesty key

It is the amnesty provision that is the key to the Carter plan. Those who can prove they arrived before 1970 would be granted status as permanent residents and would become eligible to start the citizenship process. Those who entered between 1970 and 1977 would be eligible for temporary work status. Any entering illegally since 1977 would be subject to immediate deportation.

The Carter proposal is vehemently opposed by Mexican-American organizations. Even the *Los Angeles Times* considers the 1970 amnesty date unrealistic and has suggested that it be changed to 1977. Thus far, Congress has not come to grips with the issue and appears far from reaching a consensus on a comprehensive piece of legislation.

For Californians, the big question is what effect these illegal residents are having on the state. There are theories, but no one has been able to measure the true impact. There are some studies that show that the illegals cost the state and federal government many millions of dollars through use of hospitals, schools and the welfare system. But other studies in San Diego and Orange County show that the cost is slight. One reason is that illegals are reluctant to use public services for fear of being identified and deported.

Some facts are known: Undocumented workers are paid low wages for jobs that are considered undesirable by most citizen workers. Employers save payroll taxes, and the overall result is a cheaper product. All levels of government incur some expenses maintaining border patrols, providing health and welfare services and educating the youngsters of these immigrants. (Incidentally, children of illegal immigrants born in the United States are citizens.) In California, any child can get an education — citizen or non-citizen — with no questions asked. The cost to school districts could be enormous, but there are no statistics.

Reasons to cross

The state's open-door school policy is an incentive for families to move here from Mexico, where educational opportunities are not nearly as good. This brings a large number of non-English-speaking youngsters into California schools, increasing costs and creating teaching problems.

In other words, there is every reason for a Mexican to come across the border into California — the prospects of a much better paying job, social services, improved educational facilities, a Mexican-American community that will provide political support and a state government that appears to have hung out the welcome sign.

Against this backdrop, California's Hispanic leaders have adopted a hard-line position against the efforts of the Carter Administration. Writing in *Esquire*, Richard Reeves claims the bottom-line Chicano position is total amnesty and an open border.

If the stories about the masses of Mexican nationals crossing the California border are accurate, this radical Chicano position would amount to little more than a legalization of the status quo.

Research for this article was contributed by John Jesperson, at the time a state Senate fellow.

SIGNIFICANT COURT ACTIONS

For police, lucky 13

For the first time in 13 years, the state Supreme Court has set aside one of its own rulings and granted a rehearing in a criminal case. The court, by a 6-0 vote with Chief Justice Rose Elizabeth Bird not participating, decided to reconsider its controversial 4-3 ruling that motorists stopped for minor violations cannot be detained for arrest-warrant checks.

After the October decision was rendered, law enforcement officials protested that an important anti-crime tool had been taken away from them. The court now has a number of options in *People v. McGaughran*. It can reissue the same decision, hand down a new decision, or order that written briefs and oral arguments be prepared before deciding the case anew.

The briefs submitted to the court in the request for rehearing emphasized that a large number of felony warrants will go unserved if police cannot make rapid computerized checks. Law enforcement officials also argued that the court's original ruling was confusing and did not establish guidelines for lawful detention.

The *McGaughran* rehearing order was one of several major rulings handled by the court in recent weeks. Among the others:

- ***Death penalty.*** In a 6-1 decision, the court ruled that the state's 1977 death-penalty law cannot be applied retroactively. The court did not consider the constitutionality of the 1977 or 1978 capital-punishment measures. Associate Justice William P. Clark Jr. dissented in the case, *People v. Teron*.
- ***Mandatory sentencing.*** The long-awaited *People v. Tanner* case, which has resulted in an investigation of the Supreme Court, was handed down in late December. The result was as expected — 4-3 in favor of striking down the state law requiring that those who use guns in the commission of major crimes go to jail. The majority was comprised of Chief Justice Bird and Associate Justices Mathew Tobriner, Stanley Mosk and Frank C. Newman. The dissenters were Associate Justices Clark, Frank Richardson and Wiley W. Manuel.
- ***Youths and mentally ill.*** In a pair of 5-2 decisions, the court ruled that juveniles, unlike adults, may be convicted solely on the testimony of an accomplice and that mentally retarded persons facing involuntary civil commitment may be forced to testify in court against themselves. The dissenters in both cases were Bird and Newman.

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ILLUSTRATION BY DONNA RIVERS

JUMPING
INTO THE MAINSTREAM

The myth of the Chicano political 'sleeping giant'

By Ray Gonzales

"In December 1974, Jerry (Brown) told me he was going 'to tilt toward the Mexican-Americans,' which meant tilting away from the blacks . . . I gathered he felt easier, more relaxed, with Mexican-Americans, as well as regarding them as virgin territory, politically . . . 'Blacks are the wrong symbols in the 1970s,' he said . . ."

— J. D. Lorenz in *Jerry Brown: The Man on the White Horse*

If the 1978 gubernatorial election had been close, Jerry Brown's tilt toward the state's burgeoning Chicano population might have provided his margin of victory. Brown developed a positive Chicano strategy that helped mount his landslide victory, while the Republican candidate, Evelle Younger, all but threw away any Chicano support he might have had.

Given Brown's margin of victory, it is hard to assess the impact of the Governor's "tilt," but the 1978 elections demonstrated a major change in the politics of the Chicano community. Where once the only Chicano issue that gained media attention at election time was the farm-worker cause, the 1978 campaign focused attention on the Latinos from a new, broader perspective.

There appears to have been some prophetic truth to the words attributed to Brown in the Lorenz book. The fact that both Mervyn Dymally and Yvonne Brathwaite Burke lost by substantial margins while Brown won a landslide victory may be an indication that perhaps he was right in his judgment that, to the general public, Blacks were the wrong symbols in the 1970s. Both Dymally and Burke have been activists who have never dodged the tough issues of jobs, welfare and discrimination. These are decidedly liberal issues, while the electorate has turned more conservative in the past decade.

On the other hand, the only remaining statewide Black elected official, Wilson Riles, has been viewed as a mild-mannered "don't-rock-the-boat" office holder. At times he has infuriated the minority communities by his stand on such issues as raising the entrance requirements at the University of California and his lukewarm support of bilingual education. Riles has succeeded because of his appeal to a much broader constituency.

Perhaps Brown's success with Chicano voters was not because he staunchly supported any particular Chicano cause, but because they are still "virgin territory" which Younger rejected and Brown cultivated. George Pla, who went on leave as deputy director of the Department of Economic and Business Development to join Brown's campaign staff, credits Brown's ability to sense the political winds: "Brown is the first national political figure to recognize the growing economic and political power of the Latino community."

Barrio bucks

It was clear from the early strategy of Brown's gubernatorial campaign that he was going after the Chicano vote in a big way. An estimated half-million dollars was earmarked for voter registration on the assumption that Chicanos, 3.2 million of them in California, might make the difference for Brown. In addition to recalling Joe Beeman from the state lobbying office in Washington, Brown employed Marshall Ganz and Jessica Govea, two long-time workers in the United Farmworkers Union, to assist Beeman in voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts in the barrios.

Along with vote potential, the Chicano community provided hard cash. By the June primary, Spanish-surnamed individuals had contributed $80,000 to Brown's campaign. Leo Gallegos, one of the top Chicanos in the Brown campaign structure, says that the final figure for Chicano contributions to the campaign will probably reach $200,000.

Such amounts were not raised at the typical taco feeds that have characterized past Chicano fund-raising events. In Sacramento, Governor Brown's Chicano appointees and community members raised nearly $20,000 at a $50-a-plate

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function. In Los Angeles, Mario Obledo and Sacramentans Ed Rivera and Al Gonzalez hosted an intimate $500-a-ticket event at the home of long-time Brown supporters, Frank and Lucy Casado. It netted nearly $30,000.

Troubling symptoms

But, now that the returns are in, it appears that the Chicano community at large might not have been as enthusiastic as its leadership. Here are some of the symptoms troubling Chicano leaders:

- In spite of vigorous efforts to register Hispanics and to get out the vote, the results were less than encouraging. Brown garnered nearly 79 percent of the Spanish-surnamed vote, but that did not equal the percentage he received from registered Democrats (85 percent) or the almost unanimous vote (94 percent) he received in the Black community. Even more distressing for Chicano political leaders is the fact that a survey of key Chicano precincts indicates that barely 54 percent of the voters went to the polls. The statewide average was nearly 71 percent.

For example: In the district with perhaps the largest number of Chicano voters in the state, that of Assemblyman Art Torres, there were only 28,178 votes cast in the legislative race. Compare this with an average Democratic district in the Los Angeles area with the same population, where 79,278 votes were cast. In a comparable Republican district, 82,612 were cast for the same office.

- There appeared to be no coattail benefits in Brown's victory as far as Chicano candidates were concerned. With the exception of Joe Montoya's move from the Assembly to the Senate, there was no increase in the Chicano Democratic legislative strength. The few Chicanos that sought office were not helped by the fact that Brown concentrated a great deal of his re-election effort in their community. The election of Republican Marz Garcia to the state Senate obviously had no connection with the coattails of a Democratic governor, and there is little evidence that Garcia identifies as a Chicano. While women have continued to make significant gains in the Legislature — reaching a total of 11 from a low of two in 1972 — Chicano Democrats have remained at six during the same period of time.
- Some observers — including Sacramento political scientist and long-time Chicano activist Joe Serna — conclude that all of the talk about the Chicano "sleeping giant" may in reality be a myth. Despite recent articles in *Time*, *Esquire*, *New West*, and the *Washington Post* predicting new strength in the Latino community throughout the country, Serna and others feel that practical political considerations may be more important than sheer numbers. "We have always had the numbers," Serna claims. "What we may not have is the political sophistication to realize that coalition politics may be a lot more important than pursuing purely Chicano issues."

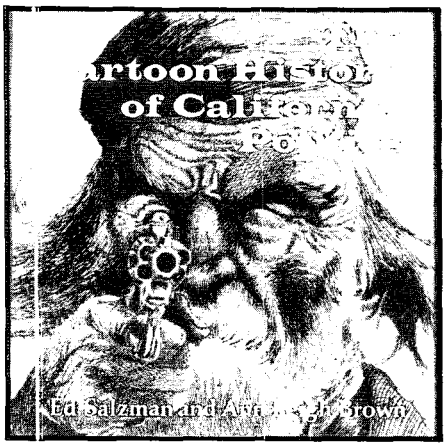
Indeed, the results of the 1978 elections show Chicanos voted about the same way the general public did on Proposition 13 (65 percent in favor) and Proposition 7, the death penalty (66 percent in favor). The so-called sleeping giant may even be more conservative than the political mainstream: A McClatchy Newspapers poll, conducted on election night, indicated that Chicanos voted a surprising 47 percent in favor of the Briggs anti-gay initiative. Martin Smith, McClatchy's political editor, suggested a connection with the family and church orientation of Chicanos and to the machismo syndrome.

- Apparently the Chicano voter does not feel any great loyalty to purely liberal, or even Democratic, issues. Support for Jerry Brown in the Latino community seemed to reflect the same mental set existing in the general electorate: a favorable response to a charismatic incumbent over a rather dull, inept challenger.

The results of the November election do offer one safe conclusion: No one can assume anything about Chicano voters. They seem to act pretty much like the average voter in the state — when and if they vote. What's more, there are hundreds of thousands of Chicano voters who have left the barrios of California and have moved to the suburbs. About 27 percent of all married Chicanos/Chicanas are not married to members of their cultural group — a statistic which suggests that significant aculturation has already occurred. Surveys show, for example, that there are just about as many Chicanos who oppose bilingual education as those who support it.

So if there is political clout dozing in the Chicano community, it is certainly unpredictable. If and when a Chicano candidate seeks statewide office, he or she will be well advised to appeal to the entire electorate and not rely on a Chicano political potential that may be more fiction than fact.

Give yourself a TREAT



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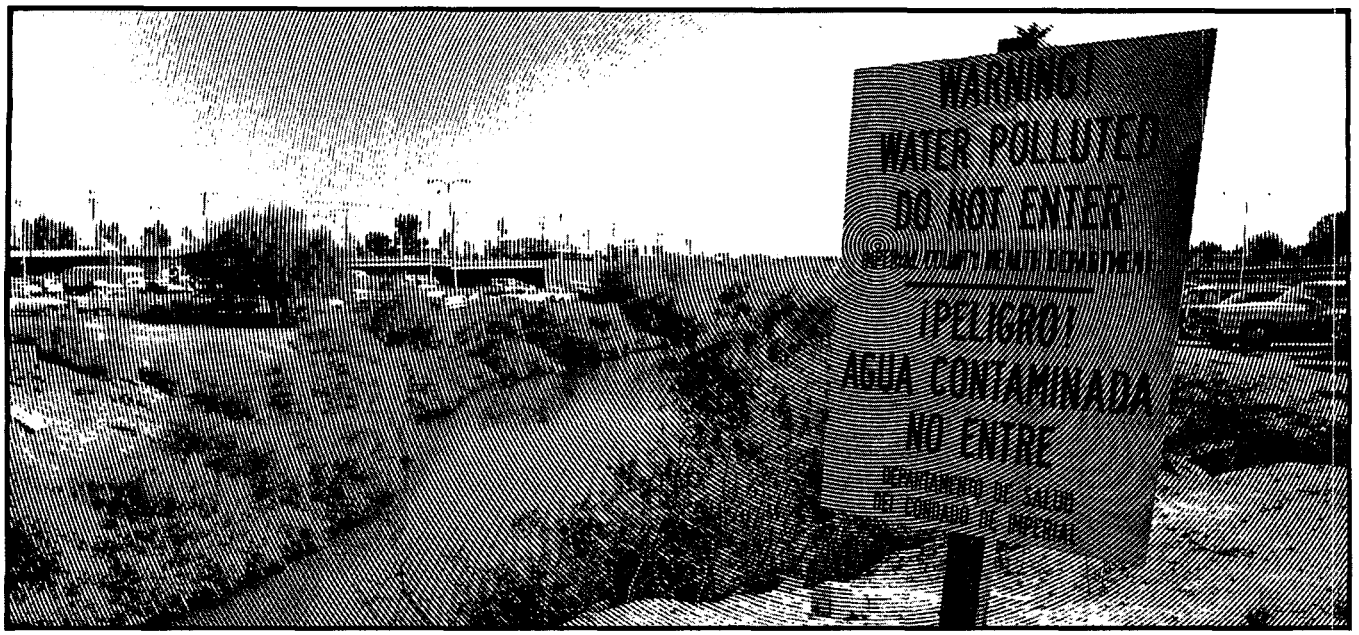

The big stink over New River

By MARTIN HILL

Sometimes, standing on the banks of the New River can make a person gag. Put simply, the river stinks. Raw sewage is being spilled into it by the Mexican city of Mexicali and the watercourse flows like an open sewer across the international boundary into California. It carries along its northerly course to the Salton Sea a clear and present danger to health and a complicated diplomatic headache for government officials from the county level up to the White House.

State and regional water quality officials and Imperial County health and environmental control authorities say Mexicali has polluted the New River for several years, pumping raw or only partially treated sewage and industrial waste into the waterway. It then flows north through the California cities of Calexico, Brawley and Seeley, and through rural Imperial County. For years these officials have tried in vain to have the pollution halted. Now, dissatisfied with the lack of results from negotiating with Mexico through normal channels, concerned authorities appear ready to seek more aggressive means of stopping the river's contamination. One of those means could result in an international lawsuit against Mexico.

The history of the New River problem goes back to 1946, when untreated sewage from both Mexicali and its bordertown neighbor, Calexico, created a noxious stench in the narrow, channel-like river. The International Boundary and Water Commission (IBWC) was authorized by both the U.S. and Mexican governments to investigate the pollution problem. In 1950 Congress passed Public Law 786 authorizing a joint venture between the two countries to construct and operate a U.S.-based international sanitation plant to treat the sewage of both Calexico and Mexicali. The studies of the IBWC, completed in 1954, supported the idea of a joint venture facility located in Calexico to serve both cities.

Martin Hill is a reporter for The Desert Sun *in Palm Springs.*

However, one year later Mexico completed its own studies and determined that such a plant should be built on the Mexican side of the border. In turn it invited Calexico to dispose of its sewage through a Mexican-maintained treatment plant. Legalities prevented the American city from contributing to the costs of a Mexicali-based facility, and so in 1956 it was decided that each city should arrange for its own sewage disposal.

By 1967 the city of Calexico had completed and begun operation of its sewage treatment system, but Mexicali had not started construction. In mid-1961, the Mexican government announced plans to begin construction the next year. But those plans were dropped later, when Mexican authorities began complaining to the U.S. of high salinity contents in the Mexican end of the Colorado River, caused by discharges from the Wellton-Mohawk Valley in Arizona.

In 1963 plans for Mexicali's sewage plant were renewed — and then dropped again when funds for the project were suddenly withdrawn by the Mexican government. During all these construction postponements, Mexicali experienced rapid growth; its population nearly tripled between 1950 and 1960. As the population grew, so did the quantity of sewage being dumped into the New River.

No end to pollution

Finally in 1976, a sewage treatment plant was completed in Mexicali — largely because of pressure from the American government, according to J. F. Friedkin, U.S. commissioner on the IBWC. The plant cost $6 million and consisted of two pumping stations and a series of stabilization ponds. But completion of the plant didn't stop the pollution of the New River. Not all of the Mexican city's industries were connected to the sewage system, and they continued dumping their wastes directly into the river. Also, the sewage system has not been able to keep up with the accelerated growth rate of the city. U.S. officials estimate that nearly half of the homes in Mexicali — currently with a population of nearly 750,000 — are not hooked up to sewers. One county

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official estimates that at its peak operating efficiency, the sanitation works in Mexicali still allow 20 percent of the city's sewage to flow untreated into the New River.

And the Mexicali sewage plant seems rarely to operate at peak efficiency. Since completion two years ago, the facility has suffered repeated breakdowns. In 1977 a minor earthquake ruptured the sewer's main trunk line, and practically all the city's waste water was dumped into the New River. Shortly after repairs were completed to the trunk line, the sewage works were seriously damaged by hurricane rains.

Last June, both pumping stations in the Mexicali plant failed, sending 70 percent of the city sewage (35 million gallons a day, by state estimates) into the river untreated. Repairs were finally completed in mid-November. Then a few weeks later, a channel connecting the stabilization ponds with the treatment facility ruptured. Again thousands of gallons of raw sewage and industrial wastes ran into the New River.

The epidemic potential

Today, as the river runs through the city of Calexico, a strong, putrid smell rises from the water. The water itself often turns gray from industrial pollution. Samples of the river bottom turn up a dark, chocolate brown sludge; a normal river bottom is light tan. Net scoopings produce dead insects, discarded vegetables and peelings, and feces. Dead animals float by occasionally, followed by old tires, debris and unidentifiable black lumps.

The banks of the river have become a breeding ground for mosquitoes and other insects, according to County Health Officer Dr. Lee Cottrell. The river carries the threat of such diseases as encephalitis, hepatitis, typhoid, and salmonella, he says. Describing it as a "clear and present danger to the health of Southern California," Cottrell told Region 7 Water Quality Control Board members recently that there have already been several reported cases of illnesses linked to the river's pollution. One was a nine-year-old boy who spent three days in a coma after playing in the river. "We can be thankful we haven't had more problems," Cottrell warned board members. "I sit back each night and thank God for giving us another day without an epidemic."

Cottrell's office and Imperial County's Division of Environmental Control are particularly worried now because the city of Calexico plans to build a city park beside the river. A shopping center is also being built on the river's eastern bank, and homes are going up along the banks just downstream.

Over the years, the city government of Calexico has remained mute on the New River pollution problem. The city council has never issued any official statement about the pollution and declines to become involved in the matter, although city officials do keep informed on the subject, according to City Manager James Black. "We're trying to steer clear of it and leave it up to the federal and state government," Black explains.

At the county and state levels, officials are pushing for more aggressive action from the federal government. Governor Jerry Brown has contacted Washington to "indicate his concern," according to W. Don Maughan, vice-chairman of the State Water Resources Board. Senator Alan Cranston contacted Secretary of State Cyrus Vance after the June breakdown last year and urged some action on the problem. But little federal action followed Brown's or Cranston's appeals, according to local officials.

Posting signs

In early November, county officials decided to take matters into their own hands. With the help of the state, Imperial County environmental and health authorities posted the entire 60-mile length of the New River, and a similarly polluted river to the east called the Alamo, as health hazards.

The sign posting occurred with full media coverage in an attempt to embarrass Mexico and to pressure its government. The move apparently worked. Several days later, the breakdown in the Mexicali sanitation works was repaired — only to break down again.

In mid-December IBWC Commissioner Friedkin announced to a special meeting of the Region 7 Water Quality Control Board that he and the U.S. ambassador to Mexico had met with the Mexican foreign secretary who had expressed to them Mexico's "determination to solve the problem." Friedkin said that Mexican and American engineers and technicians would soon meet to determine needed improvements in the Mexicali sewage plant and to set up a work schedule. Only days before these announcements were made, articles on the New River had appeared in *Time* magazine and the *Washington Post*. *Time* had listed the New River as one of the world's worst pollution problems.

But Region 7 officials are not willing to accept the verbal assurances of the Mexican government. "Their track record shows we can't trust them," says board member Lee Escher. Fellow board member Lawrence Pierce echoes similar feelings: "As of the latest report we have, they haven't talked the pollution out of the New River and I don't think they're going to do it."

Neither state nor local officials are happy with the federal government's role. They point to a recently completed $100 million desalinization plant built on the Colorado River to clear up the problem of salty water running into Mexico, and to recent quality controls placed on drinking water being trucked into Mexicali from Imperial County. Federal officials seem more concerned with water quality for Mexico than for Americans, their critics charge.

Diverting or treating

But Washington insists that there is little to be done. The Environmental Protection Agency has no jurisdiction over Mexico and therefore no basis for taking action on the New River problem. Beyond writing letters to their Mexican counterparts, EPA says it is helpless. IBWC Commissioner Friedkin points out that Mexico is a foreign, sovereign nation and "what is done on its territory is completely within the jurisdiction of that country. All we can do is being done by urging, persuasion and negotiation."

But two other alternatives are available: construction of a sewage treatment plant on the U.S. side of the New River to treat the river water as it comes over the border, and diverting the river into the Laguna Salada, a dry salt lake basin to the southeast of Mexicali. Friedkin says he doesn't think the point has been reached yet for taking these options to Congress for action, but he adds, "We may be near this point."

And a third possibility exists: A lawsuit could be filed against Mexico through the International Court. Such a suit would have to be filed by the federal government, and if Washington refused a request to file, the water quality board could sue the federal government itself. Action in either case would need the support of the State Water Resources Control Board, the regional board's parent commission.

Although no action has been taken, the Region 7 board has discussed such suits. It also has talked about retaliation measures, such as holding back fresh drinking water from Mexicali and damming up the river at the border.

Before the board acts, however, there may be a grassroots revolt. A group of angry Calexico citizens is rumored to be collecting money to rent a bulldozer. With it they hope to rechannel the New River back into Mexico. "If you find them," jokes County Environmental Health Director William Hsu, "let me know. I'll give them ten dollars."

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Do liberals dare challenge Brown's Republican budget?

By Ed Salzman

Republican Don Livingston, an executive in the Reagan Administration and a Jerry Brown appointee to the Little Hoover Commission, listened to Governor Brown's inauguration address and remarked: "That's the kind of speech we didn't let Ronald Reagan get out of the office with." Brown's televised address on January 8th — featuring a call for a balanced federal budget, by constitutional convention if necessary — makes him eligible for honorary membership in the far right United Republicans of California (UROC). The same might also be said for the $20 billion fiscal program Brown handed the Legislature two days later.

The basic budget Brown submitted to the Legislature is less than one percent higher than the estimated current rate of spending — in an era of runaway inflation. Add to that $4.4 billion in Proposition 13 "bailout" funds, $150 million for unspecified legislative additions, $100 million for a housing program yet to be developed and $235 million for state-employee pay raises, and the total increase over the current fiscal year still falls under four percent (when this year's "bailout" funds are also taken into consideration). The Governor proposed a reduction in the state work force of some 5,000 employees and a $1.2 billion, one-time income tax rebate — and still will end the next fiscal year with a $1.2 billion surplus.

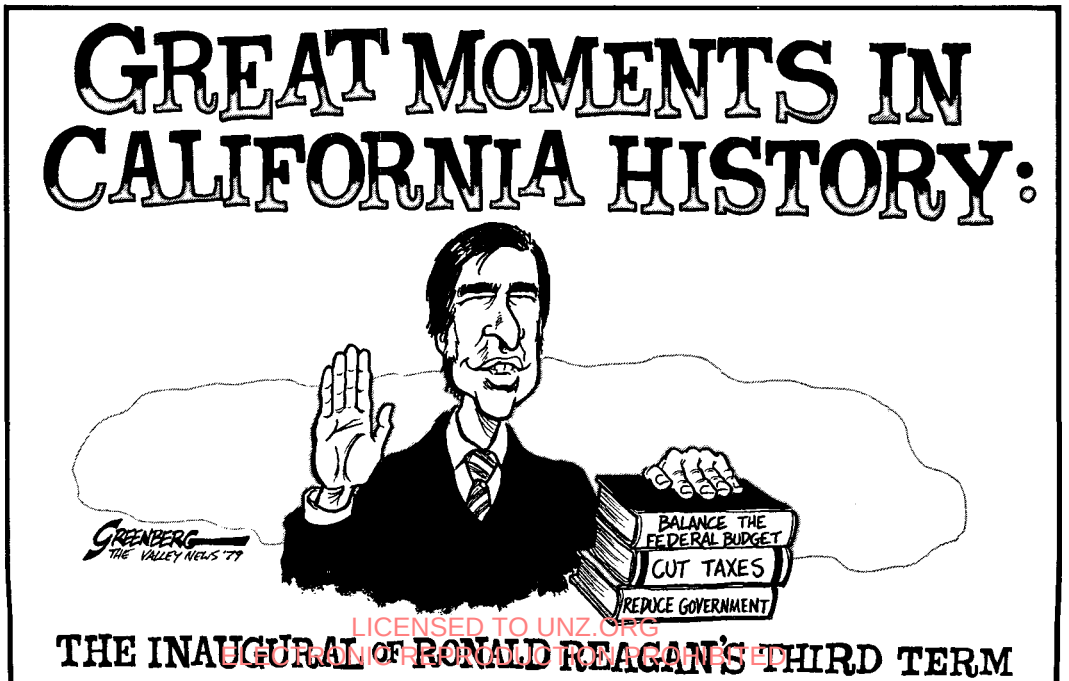
If Brown were running for president, what better way to convince voters across the country that he, more than any other politician on the horizon, knows how to make government prostrate itself before the altar of Proposition 13? By modern standards, Brown's fifth budget tightens the belt of state government to the point of discomfort — and pain for those losing jobs. Yet, the Governor called it a "modest liberal program" and stated that there is room for more reductions. "It is a reasonable budget, and I think we ought to cut it more . . . If we don't succeed on this, I'm sure there is a more conservative program waiting in the wings."

Also waiting in the wings are those who will feel the cutting edge of Brown's knife — the state employees who received no pay raise last year, local governments who were expecting additional help from the state, welfare recipients unable to maintain purchasing power, various special-interest groups losing their pet appropriations. Brown presented liberals in the Legislature with a stern test, and the prime battleground probably will be the welfare allocation. Under present law, welfare recipients are entitled to 15.7 percent increases. Brown has proposed that they get 6 percent, but he needs legislative authorization to keep the increases this low.

A three-step approach

In most years, the Legislature must wait until it receives revised estimates of revenues and expenditures in mid-May before getting down to serious business on the budget. But Brown has suggested a three-step approach this year:

March — The Governor wants the local-government "bailout" bill to be enacted early so that cities, counties and special districts will know what they can expect before they start passing their 1979-80 budgets. This year, local government is receiving $4.268 billion from the state, and


GREAT MOMENTS IN CALIFORNIA HISTORY:
GREENBERG THE VALLEY NEWS '79
BALANCE THE FEDERAL BUDGET
CUT TAXES
REDUCE GOVERNMENT
THE INAUGURAL OF RONALD REAGAN'S THIRD TERM

Cartoon By Steven Greenberg, *The Valley News*

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Brown is recommending that $4.378 billion from state surplus funds be used to bail out local government next year — a small increase of only $110 million. All of the increase would go to counties (for health-and-welfare programs) and to special districts; none of it would go to cities or school districts. The big legislative battle will probably not be over the amounts but over changes in current law desired by the Governor to prevent welfare and education costs from rising some $415 million under current formulas. Brown wants these formulas lifted or revised as part of the "bailout" package, and he will have to contend with the opposition of Assembly Speaker Leo T. McCarthy and other liberal Democrats. Republicans found little fault with the Brown program. Why should they? It proposes to put into practice GOP rhetoric of many years' standing.

June — Enactment of the basic budget bill. Brown has left a small cushion in his program — $250 million for a housing-finance program and a variety of unspecified legislative augmentations. The budget includes full state funding of Medi-Cal abortions, and that issue — although it involves only $34 million — could be the biggest bottleneck, as it was last year.

September — Passage of a one-time $1.2 billion cut in personal income taxes if there is no downturn in state revenues as a result of cooling economic conditions. The Brown program calls for rebate of $915 million through increases in the personal deduction (from $27 to $125 per person), through a conversion of the homeowners' property tax exemption to an $87 income-tax credit, and through distribution of an additional $210 million by means to be determined at some future date.

Taxes and pay hikes

In presenting his budget to the media, Brown emphasized these points:

- Because of Proposition 13 and last year's $1 billion income-tax cut, California has dropped from third to 21st among the states in taxation per capita.
- Salaries of state workers must be negotiated, but the upper limit appears to be the guideline set by President Carter — about 7 percent. This means that when regular merit raises are deducted, 6 percent is left for cost-of-living hikes.
- The proposed 6 percent increase in welfare benefits does not represent a cut, as liberals contend, and it still leaves California atop all states in generosity. "California is meeting the competition of other states," Brown said. To those who claim the 6-percent figure represents a cut, he remarked: "We are prisoners of Orwellian confusion."
- The University of California should be free to provide faculty salary increases exceeding 6 percent — if the money comes from internal economies in the UC budget.
- California has created 1.5 million new jobs in the last four years, and now has 61 percent of those over 16 working — one of the highest percentages in the world.

The key question in the development of this year's fiscal program was the size of the state's surplus. Brown had built it by hoarding money for three years, by keeping a lid on state growth and by reaping the rewards of inflation (in the sales and income tax). Last year, the state spent more than $5 billion in surplus to keep local government afloat and to provide a pre-election tax cut. How much is available for next year? It turns out that the state will start the next fiscal year with a kitty of $2.5 billion. Another surplus of $4.3 billion would accumulate during the coming fiscal year — if it weren't spent. This means that Brown can give local government $4.4 billion, cut taxes $1.2 billion and still have a reserve of some $1.2 billion with which to start the 1980-81 fiscal year. (The budget shows that $1.2 billion in two pieces — $700 million as a surplus and $500 million as a "prudent reserve.")

To develop that kind of surplus, Brown cut state spending

Budget facts and figures

Total: $20.3 billion (including $4.4 million in local-government "bailout" funds, $235 million for projected state-employee salary increases and $150 million for legislative additions), up 3.6 percent from the current level of spending.

Taxes: Reduction of $1.2 billion, mostly in the personal income tax. No new taxes.

Economic forecast: Some dropoff from highly inflationary conditions of 1978.

Where money goes: Health and welfare, 26%; local-government relief, 22%; public schools, 18%; higher education, 11%; business and transportation, 6%.

How money is raised: sales tax, 35%; personal income tax, 27%; bank and corporation tax, 13%; motor vehicle levies, 11%.

Projected surpluses: $2.5 billion at the end of the current fiscal year (June 30th, 1979), and $1.2 billion at the end of the next fiscal year (June 30, 1980).

State employees: 219,000, down 5,100 from the estimated current work force.

Pay raises: To be negotiated, but with a supposed maximum of 6%, equivalent to $235 million.

Federal aid: $8.1 billion, up from $7.8 billion in the current fiscal year.

Total spending from all sources: $33.4 billion, up from $32.4 billion.

Outstanding bonded debt: $5.8 billion as of December 31st, 1978, up from $5.6 billion the previous year.

Brown's fifth budget message

The following is the complete text of the message Governor Brown presented to the Legislature January 10th when he submitted his 1979-80 budget:

The proposed budget is about $2 billion less than we projected only a year ago and reflects the clear mandate of the voters for a leaner government. The budget increase is well *below the rate of inflation* and for the first time since World War II requires an actual *decrease* in the number of state employees.

The budget total falls substantially below all proposed constitutional spending limits, including the Gann Initiative. At the same time, it keeps faith with the vision and conscience of California. It builds for the future with new or expanded efforts in the arts, affirmative action, protection of children, urban parks, apprenticeship training, enforcement of labor laws to protect the working poor, and housing.

This budget also contemplates a tax reduction of at least $1 billion, which will be justified if continuing inflation drives state taxes to expected levels. Such excess taxes must be recaptured by the people because they have been extracted by inflation, not real economic growth.

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to the bone. He instituted a hiring freeze for all but a few state departments last year and will maintain it for the coming year. The result will be a reduction of some 5,000 state workers. In addition, Brown had called for the elimination of some programs. The net result is that the state's level of spending next year will be some $2.4 billion lower than it would have been without the sledgehammer effect caused by Proposition 13.

The program is based on a set of statistical assumptions that are called "mid-range" by the state's new director of finance, Richard T. Silberman. The data assumes a downturn in the economy but not one as drastic as is predicted for the northeastern part of the nation. Silberman cautioned that the tax cut may not be possible if the assumptions turn out to be optimistic. The forecast:

	1977	1978	% Change	1979	% Change
Personal income	173	197	14	223	13
Corporate profits	19	23	20	24	8
Taxable sales	100	114	15	127	12
Auto sales (millions)	1.123	1.170	4	1.080	−8
Housing starts (thousands)	270	237	−12	190	−20
Civilian employment (millions)	9.3	9.8	6	10.1	3
Unemployment rate	8.2	7.2	—	7.0	—
Consumer price index	180.2	194.3	8	207.6	7

(Dollar amounts in billions)

Squeezing expenditures

As a result of last year's legislation instituting a cost-of-living factor in the personal income tax and the proposed $1.2 billion income-tax cut this year, there is virtually no growth forecast in revenues from this levy, which was primarily responsible for building the state's huge surpluses in recent years. The Department of Finance has projected an overall increase in state income of only seven percent for 1979-80, and the bulk of that comes from sales-tax collections, which would rise 12 percent from $5.7 billion to $6.4 billion.

Thus, Brown must depend to a large measure on a tight squeeze on the expenditure side of the ledger to keep the surplus building (so that funds are available for local government and a tax cut). This he accomplished in a variety of ways:

- ***Health and welfare.*** The magic number of six keeps recurring in this major portion of the budget — a six percent hike for welfare recipients, a 6 percent limit on increases in fees paid to doctors under Medi-Cal, indeed a 6 percent increase in the entire health and welfare budget of $5 billion. This is despite an overall Medi-Cal increase of some 12 percent. One reason why the budget is so low is that the Department of Finance is predicting a reduction in caseload and an increase in outside income by those on relief.
- ***Public schools.*** State allocations to schools would increase only 3.3 percent, less than the amount that would be necessary to meet the mandates of legislation designed to comply with the *Serrano* decision. (The Legislature will have to waive the provisions of the law, AB 65, in order to accomplish this.) There is no change in the amount of bailout funds for school districts. Enrollment in the grades K-12 is expected to decline two percent. Community colleges would be treated about the same way, with a 4 percent boost in apportionments and no change in "bailout" funds.
- ***Higher education.*** The University of California would get an increase of $30 million or 4 percent (plus pay-raise money not to exceed 6 percent). This is less than UC requested but more than Brown had indicated he might be willing to give. UC President David Saxon said the system could survive without closing campuses under the Brown plan. The State University and Colleges system would get $22 million or 3.2 percent more, plus pay-raise funds.
- ***Layoffs.*** The cutbacks announced by Brown have already started to take place. In fact, about half the eliminated jobs will disappear in the current fiscal year. Silberman said that most of the 5,000 positions (plus other jobs not funded by the state) will be eliminated through attrition and very few employees will actually be fired.
- ***Pet programs.*** The budget contains $100 million for an undeveloped housing program, $100 million for new prisons to be opened in 1986, $12 million for the arts council (a Brown favorite that is under fire from legislators and received less than $2 million this year) and $3 million for improved radio gadgetry for the California Highway Patrol (devices allowing officers to take calls while away from their cars).
- ***Special funds.*** Brown took aim at state regulatory agencies in another of his moves to the right. He called for the elimination of nine licensing boards, changes in several others, and a halt to state licensing of real estate salespersons. Most of these activities are funded by contributions from those in the affected industries. (On the day the budget was explained to the press, Brown's top political adviser, Chairman Tom Quinn of the Air Resources Board, made a speech in Los Angeles attacking government regulation and describing the "growing convergence of liberal and conservative thought.")
- ***Miscellaneous reductions.*** The Governor claims that he has made some $463 million worth of reductions in "low-priority activities." They are located throughout state government — from night-time toll-taking on bridges to the elimination of forest firefighting for counties. These cuts were given special colored paper in the mammoth budget documents — undoubtedly to help those from early-primary states find the vital message in 1980.

The trouble spots

Can Brown sell this kind of a conservative program to the Legislature? He doesn't have to sell it. There are few politicians extant in California and the nation today who are willing to stand up for old-fashioned, free-spending liberal principles. And if the Legislature should want to spend more money, Brown can also employ the veto. The Legislature will probably give Brown the most trouble on some of the more liberal aspects of his program — those that get lost under the overall umbrella of austerity or conservatism.

Take, for example, Brown's formula for the $1.2 billion tax rebate. Every person would get about $100 — regardless of how much they pay. This means that the middle-class once again will be asked to support those at the lower-income rungs of the economic ladder. The Arts Council abortion and Energy Commission appropriations will come under attack, as will generosity with hospitals under Medical. (The 6 percent limit for doctors would not apply to hospitals.)

Despite these problem areas, Brown is sitting in the catbird seat. If the Legislature does take a liberal stand, he can tell lawmakers like McCarthy that the price of more help to state workers or welfare recipients (who were wiped out last year following the passage of Proposition 13) is a reduction in local aid or the tax-cut plan — politically unattractive alternatives for most legislators.

In less than a year, the 1980 presidential campaign will be in full swing. Ronald Reagan has all but announced that he will be seeking the Republican nomination. By the shape of Brown's inauguration speech and his fiscal policies, it appears that the Governor will be following his predecessor into the White Mountains of New Hampshire. The big problem for the Eastern voters will be telling the difference between the two Californians.

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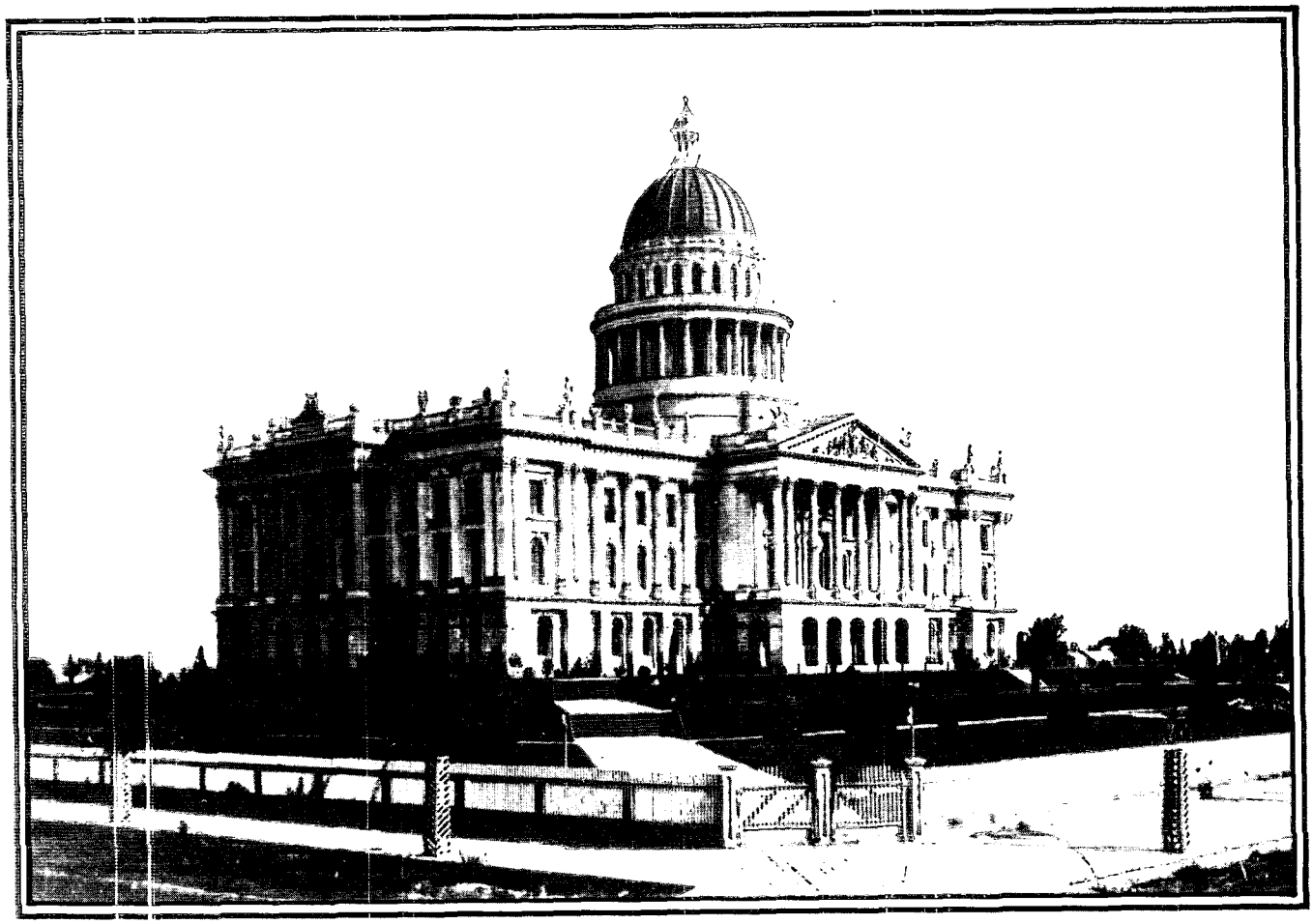

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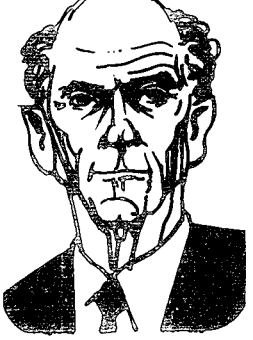

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Representatives

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Office**	Telephone
Anderson, Glenn M.	D	32	Los Angeles (San Pedro)	300 Long Beach Blvd., Long Beach 90801	(213) 548-2551
Badham, Robert	R	40	Orange (southern) San Diego (northern)	1649 Westcliff Dr., Newport Beach 92660	(714) 631-0040
Beilenson, Anthony	D	23	Los Angeles (Encino, Beverly Hills)	11000 Wilshire Blvd., 13th Floor, Los Angeles 90024	(213) 824-7801
Brown, George E. Jr.	D	36	San Bernardino, Riverside (urban)	290 N. D St., San Bernardino 92401	(714) 825-2472
Burgener, Clair W.	R	43	San Diego (Del Mar, El Cajon), Imperial	880 Front St., Room 5535, San Diego 92188	(714) 231-1912
Burton, John	D	5	Marin, parts of San Francisco, Sonoma	450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-1333
Burton, Phillip	D	6	Most of San Francisco	450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-4862
Clausen, Donald H.	R	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Napa, part of Sonoma	777 Sonoma Ave., Santa Rosa 95404	(707) 525-4316
Coelho, Tony	D	15	Merced, Mariposa, Madera, part of Stanislaus and Fresno	415 W. 18th, Merced 95340	(209) 383-4455
Corman, James	D	21	L.A. (San Fernando Valley)	14545 Friar St., Van Nuys 91411	(213) 787-1776
Danielson, George E.	D	30	Los Angeles (Monterey Park, El Monte)	8873 E. Valley, Rosemead 91770	(213) 688-3454
Dannemeyer, William	R	39	Orange, (Anaheim, Fullerton)	1370 Brea Blvd., Fullerton 92635	(714) 992-0141
Dellums, Ronald V.	D	8	Alameda (northern), part of Contra Costa	201 13th St., Room 105, Oakland 94604	(415) 763-0370
Dixon, Julian	D	28	L.A. (Inglewood, Culver City)	1 LaBrae Plaza, Inglewood 90301	(213) 839-5277
Dornan, Robert	R	27	L.A. (Coastal)	11000 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90024	(213) 824-7222
Edwards, Don	D	10	Alameda (southern), Santa Clara (northern)	1625 The Alameda, Room 709, San Jose 95126	(408) 292-0143
Fazio, Vic	D	4	Colusa, Sutter, Yolo, Solano, part of Sacramento	1526 Tennessee St., Vallejo 94590	(707) 552-0720
Goldwater, Barry, Jr.	R	20	Ventura (eastern), Los Angeles (northwestern)	23241 Ventura Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 883-1233
Grisham, Wayne	R	33	L.A. (Whittier, Downey)	13601 E. Whittier Blvd., Whittier 90605	(213) 945-3061
Hawkins, Augustus	D	29	Los Angeles (Watts)	936 W. Manchester Ave., Los Angeles 90044	(213) 750-0260
Johnson, Harold T.	D	1	Shasta, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity, Modoc, Butte, Sierra, Lassen, Plumas, Nevada, Placer, Yuba, Glenn, part of Sacramento	320 Vernon St., Roseville 95678	(916) 782-4411
Lagomarsino, Robert	R	19	Santa Barbara, parts of San Luis Obispo and Ventura	5740 Ralston St., Ventura 93003	(805) 642-2200
Lewis, Jerry	R	37	San Bernardino and Riverside (rural)	101 S. 6th, Redlands 92373	(714) 792-5901
Lloyd, Jim	D	35	L.A. (Covina, Pomona), west San Bernardino	100 S. Vincent, Suite 507, West Covina 91790	(213) 919-5711
Lungren, Dan	R	34	Los Angeles (eastern Long Beach), north coastal Orange	5514 Britton Dr., Long Beach 90815	(213) 594-9761
McCloskey, Paul, Jr.	R	12	Santa Clara (northwestern), some of San Mateo	305 Grant Ave., Palo Alto 94306	(415) 326-7383
Matsui, Robert	D	3	Most of Sacramento	650 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814	(916) 440-3543
Miller, George	D	7	Most of Contra Costa	367 Civic Dr., Pleasant Hill 94523	(415) 687-3260
Mineta, Norman	D	13	Santa Clara (southern)	1245 S. Winchester Blvd., San Jose 95128	(408) 984-6045
Moorhead, Carlos J.	R	22	L.A. (Burbank, Glendale)	420 N. Brand Blvd., Room 404, Glendale 91203	(213) 247-8445
Panetta, Leon	D	16	Santa Cruz, Monterey, San Benito, part of San Luis Obispo	380 Alvarado, Monterey 93940	(408) 649-3555
Pashayan, Charles	R	17	Kings, most of Tulare, part of Fresno	1130 O St., Fresno 93721 (P.O. Box 12011, Fresno 93776)	(209) 487-5487
Patterson, Jerry	D	38	Orange (Buena Park, Westminster, Santa Ana)	34 Civic Center Plaza, Suite 921, Santa Ana 92701	(714) 835-3811
Rousselot, John H.	R	26	L.A. (Alhambra, Glendora)	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006	(213) 447-8125
Roybal, Edward R.	D	25	L.A. (Downtown, East L.A.)	300 N. Los Angeles St., Los Angeles 90012	(213) 688-4870
Shumway, Norman	R	14	San Joaquin, El Dorado, Amador, Alpine, Calaveras, Mono, Tuolumne, parts of Sacramento and Stanislaus	1045 N. El Dorado St., Stockton 95202	(209) 464-7612
Stark, Fortney (Pete)	D	9	Alameda (central and eastern)	7 Eastmont Mall, Oakland 94605	(415) 635-1092
Thomas, William	R	18	Inyo, Kern, parts of Tulare and Los Angeles (desert)	1830 Truxtun Ave., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 327-3611
Van Deerlin, Lionel	D	42	San Diego (southwest)	815 E St., Rm. 205, San Diego 92101	(714) 233-8959
Waxman, Henry A.	D	24	Los Angeles (Hollywood)	8425 West 3rd, Los Angeles 90048	(213) 651-1040
Wilson, Charles H.	D	31	L.A. (Hawthorne, Compton)	15000 Aviation Blvd., Lawndale 90261	(213) 536-6680
Wilson, Bob	R	41	San Diego (Mission Valley)	880 Front St., Suite 6615, San Diego 92188	(714) 231-0957
Vacancy		11	Most of San Mateo	1720 South Amphlet Blvd., San Mateo 94402	(415) 349-1978

*Mail for senators may be addressed to New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510, tel. (202) 224-3121.

**Mail for members of the House may be addressed to House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515, tel. (202) 224-3121.

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The California Legislature

Senate

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Address*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Alquist, Alfred E.	D	11	Alameda, San Benito, Santa Clara	777 N. 1st St., San Jose 95112	(408) 286-8318	445-9740
Ayala, Ruben S.	D	32	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	353 W. 6th St., San Bernardino 92401	(714) 383-4497	445-6868
Beverly, Robert G.	R	27	Los Angeles	1611 S. Pacific Coast Highway, Redondo Beach 90277	(213) 540-1611	445-6447
Briggs, John V.	R	35	Orange	1441 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92635	(714) 879-2345	445-4264
Campbell, William	R	33	Los Angeles	7624 Painter Ave., Whittier 90602	(213) 693-8284	445-2848
Carpenter, Paul B.	D	37	Orange	1600 N. Broadway, Santa Ana 92706	(714) 547-9401	445-5581
Craven, William	R	38	Imperial, Riverside, San Diego	550 W. Vista Ave., Vista 92083	(714) 726-7676	445-3731
Cusanovich, Lou	R	19	Los Angeles, Ventura	23241 Ventura Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 888-0242	445-8873
Dills, Ralph C.	D	28	Los Angeles	16921 S. Western Ave., Gardena 90247	(213) 324-4969	445-5953
Foran, John F.	D	6	San Francisco, San Mateo	15 Southgate Ave., Daly City 94015	(415) 755-1766	445-0503
Garamendi, John	D	13	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mono, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Tuolumne	31 Channel St., Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7930	445-2407
Garcia, Alex P.	D	24	Los Angeles	205 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90012	(213) 628-5155	445-3456
Garcia, Marz	R	10	San Mateo, Santa Clara	1177 University Dr., Menlo Park 94025	(415) 323-8448	445-0870
Greene, Bill	D	29	Los Angeles	8514 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90003	(213) 620-5600	445-2104
Holmdahl, John W.	D	8	Alameda	22300 Foothill Blvd., Hayward 94541	(415) 538-4844	445-6671
Johnson, Ray	R	1	Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Lassen, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, Yuba	2400 Washington Plaza, Redding 96001	(916) 244-6006	445-6747
Keene, Barry	D	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Marin, Mendocino, Sonoma	30 N. San Pedro Rd., San Rafael 94901	(415) 472-7510	445-3375
Marks, Milton	R	5	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-1437	445-1412
Mills, James R.	D	40	San Diego	815 3rd Ave., Chula Vista 92011	(714) 427-7812	445-6767
Montoya, Joseph	D	26	Los Angeles	2337 S. Garfield Ave., Monterey Park 91754	(213) 724-3825	445-3386
Nejedly, John A.	R	7	Contra Costa	1855 Olympic Blvd., Walnut Creek 94596	(415) 934-4558	445-6083
Nielsen, Jim	R	4	Napa, Sacramento, Solano Sonoma, Yolo	415 Main St., Woodland 95695	(916) 662-7315	445-3353
Nimmo, Robert	R	17	Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz	1303 Garden St., San Luis Obispo 93401	(805) 544-2274	445-5843
Petris, Nicholas C.	D	9	Alameda, Contra Costa	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-1333	445-6577
Presley, Robert B.	D	34	Riverside, San Bernardino	3610 Central Ave., Riverside 92506	(714) 781-4111	445-9781
Rains, Omer L.	D	18	Santa Barbara, Ventura	501 Poli St., Ventura 93001	(805) 654-4648	445-5405
Richardson, H. L.	R	25	Los Angeles	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006	(213) 445-4404	445-3688
Robbins, Alan	D	20	Los Angeles	6320 Van Nuys Blvd., Van Nuys 91401	(213) 988-5894	445-3121
Roberti, David A.	D	23	Los Angeles	6640 Sunset Blvd., Hollywood 90028	(213) 464-1178	445-8390
Rodda, Albert S.	D	3	Sacramento	5052 State Capitol, Sacramento 95814	(916) 445-5788	445-5788
Russell, Newton R.	R	21	Los Angeles	815 S. Central Ave., Glendale 91204	(213) 247-7021	445-5976
Schmitz, John	R	36	Orange	4600 Campus Dr., Newport Beach 92660	(714) 979-9670	445-5831
Sieroty, Alan	D	22	Los Angeles	11340 W. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles 90064	(213) 479-4244	445-7928
Smith, Jerry	D	12	Santa Clara	2185 The Alameda, San Jose 95126	(408) 984-7290	445-3104
Stiern, Walter W.	D	16	Inyo, Kern, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	315 Truxtun Ave., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 395-2797	445-6637
Vuich, Rose Ann	D	15	Fresno, Kern, Kings, Tulare	120 W. Tulare, Dinuba 93618	(209) 591-5005	445-4641
Watson, Diane E.	D	30	Los Angeles	4401 Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles 90043	(213) 295-6655	445-5215
Wilson, Bob	D	39	San Diego	2165 San Diego Ave., San Diego 92110	(714) 237-7139	445-3952
Zenovich, George N.	D	14	Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, Stanislaus	1060 Fulton Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 485-6260	445-9600
Vacancy		31	Los Angeles	444 W. Ocean Blvd., Long Beach 90802	(213) 435-4865	445-4961

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Assembly

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Offices*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Agnos, Art	D	16	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2253	445-8253
Alatorre, Richard	D	55	Los Angeles (East Los Angeles)	6801 N. Figueroa St., Los Angeles 90042	(213) 255-7111	445-7587
Bane, Tom	D	40	Los Angeles (N. Hollywood, Van Nuys, Reseda)	5430 Van Nuys Blvd., Van Nuys 91401	(213) 986-8090	445-3134
Bannai, Paul T	R	53	Los Angeles (Hawthorne, Gardena)	1919 W. Redondo Beach Blvd., Gardena 90247	(213) 327-5920	445-0965
Bates, Tom	D	12	Alameda, Contra Costa	3923 Grand Ave., Oakland 94614	(415) 464-0786	445-7554
Bergeson, Marian	R	74	Orange (coastal)	833 Dover Dr., Newport Beach 92663	(714) 631-3174	445-7222
Berman, Howard	D	43	Los Angeles, (Beverly Hills, Westwood)	520 S. Sepulveda Blvd., Los Angeles 90049	(213) 476-7646	445-4956
Boatwright, Daniel	D	10	Contra Costa (eastern)	1035 Detroit Ave., Concord 94518	(415) 689-1973	445-8528
Bosco, Doug	D	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino, Lake, Sonoma (northern)	411 J St., Eureka 95501	(707) 445-2055	445-8360
Brown, Dennis	R	58	Los Angeles (Long Beach)	2750 Bellflower Blvd., Long Beach 90815	(213) 420-2661	445-8492
Brown, Willie L., Jr.	D	17	San Francisco	540 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-0784	445-8077
Calvo, Victor	D	21	Santa Clara (northwestern)	2570 El Camino Real West, Mountain View 94040	(415) 941-4640	445-7632
Chacon, Peter R.	D	79	San Diego (City of San Diego, Coronado)	5106 Federal Blvd., San Diego 92105	(714) 263-2148	445-7610
Chappie, Eugene	R	3	Colusa, Sutter, Yuba, Sierra Nevada, Placer, half of Butte	459 Pelora, Yuba City 95991	(916) 673-2201	445-7298
Cline, Robert C.	R	37	Los Angeles (San Fernando Valley), part of Ventura	19240 Nordhoff St., Northridge 91324	(213) 349-3333	445-7676
Costa, Jim	D	30	Madera, Mariposa, part of Fresno	1111 Fulton Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 264-3078	445-7558
Deddeh, Wadie P.	D	80	San Diego (National City, Chula Vista)	815 3rd Ave., Chula Vista 92011	(714) 427-7087	445-7556
Duffy, Gordon	R	32	Kings, most of Tulare, part of Kern	321 N. Douty, Hanford 93230	(209) 582-4431	445-2931
Egeland, Leona H.	D	24	San Benito, Santa Clara (rural)	3535 Ross Ave., San Jose 95124	(408) 269-6500	445-8243
Elder, Dave	D	57	Los Angeles (Long Beach)	3651 Atlantic Ave., Long Beach 90807	(213) 427-8921	445-7454
Ellis, Jim	R	77	San Diego	2755 Navajo Rd., Lower Level El Cajon 92020	(714) 464-7204	445-6161
Felando, Gerald	R	52	Los Angeles (San Pedro)	700 S. Grand Ave., San Pedro 90731	(213) 548-5700	445-7906
Fenton, Jack R.	D	59	Los Angeles (Alhambra, Monterey Park)	1601 W. Beverly Blvd., Montebello 90640	(213) 724-3400	445-0854
Filante, William	R	9	Marin, part of Sonoma	30 N. San Pedro Rd., San Rafael 94903	(415) 479-4920	445-7827
Frazee, Bob	R	76	San Diego (La Jolla, Del Mar)	2725 Jefferson St., Carlsbad 92008	(714) 434-1749	445-2390
Gage, Mike	D	8	Napa, Solano, Sonoma	920 College Ave., Santa Rosa 95404	(707) 542-4433	445-8102
Goggin, Terry	D	66	San Bernardino (urban)	Vanir Tower Plaza, San Bernardino 92402	(714) 884-1241	445-4843
Greene, Leroy F.	D	6	Sacramento	5925 Fair Oaks Blvd., Carmichael 95608	(916) 481-6540	445-7807
Hallett, Carol	R	29	Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara	1145 Marsh St., San Luis Obispo 93401	(805) 549-3381	445-7795
Hannigan, Tom	D	4	Yolo, parts of Solano and Sacramento	1000 Webster St., Fairfield 94533	(707) 429-2383	445-8368
Harris, Elihu	D	13	Alameda (northwestern)	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94612	(415) 464-0339	445-7442
Hart, Gary	D	35	Most of Santa Barbara	1129-B State St., Santa Barbara 93101	(805) 966-1766	445-8292
Hayden, Richard D.	R	22	Santa Clara (southern)	21060 Homestead Road, Cupertino 95014	(408) 446-4114	445-8305
Hayes, Robert	R	39	Los Angeles (eastern San Fernando Valley)	13189 Osborn St., Arleta 91331	(213) 896-0751	445-1616
Hughes, Teresa P.	D	47	Los Angeles (Huntington Park)	3253 S. Hoover Ave., Los Angeles 90017	(213) 747-7451	445-7498
Imbrecht, Charles	R	36	Ventura	3920 E. Main St., Ventura 93003	(805) 654-4501	445-7402
Ingalls, Walter	D	68	Riverside (urban)	3610 Central Ave., Riverside 92506	(714) 781-3222	445-1720
Ivers, Bill	R	42	Los Angeles (Pasadena, Glendale)	106-A S. Los Robles, Pasadena 91101	(213) 449-4747	445-8211
Johnson, Ross	R	69	Orange	1275 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92632	(714) 738-5853	445-7448
Kapiloff, Lawrence	D	78	San Diego (Mission Hills, Linda Vista)	967 Hornblend, San Diego 92109	(714) 270-5500	445-7210
Kelley, David	R	75	Imperial, deserts parts of Riverside, San Diego	880 N. State St., Hemet 92343	(714) 652-5023	445-7852
Knox, John T.	D	11	Contra Costa (western)	3607 Macdonald Ave.,	(415) 237-8171	445-7890

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Assembly (continued)

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Address*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
				Richmond 94805		
Lancaster, William	R	62	Los Angeles (Covina, Claremont)	372 E. Rowland St., Covina 91723	(213) 332-6271	445-9234
Lehman, Richard	D	31	Fresno, Tulare	96 Shaw, Clovis 93612	(209) 298-6571	445-8514
Leonard, Bill	R	67	San Bernardino, Riverside (rural)	405 E. Citrus Ave., Redlands 92373	(714) 862-5251	445-7552
Levine, Mel	D	44	Los Angeles (Beverly Hills)	9581 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles 90035	(213) 277-5228	445-1676
Lockyer, Bill	D	14	Alameda (central)	14895 E. 14th St., San Leandro 94578	(415) 464-0847	445-8160
Mangers, Dennis	D	73	Orange	16371 Beach Blvd., Huntington Beach 92647	(714) 848-1168	445-8377
McAlister, Alister	D	25	Santa Clara (northeastern), part of Alameda	554 Valley Way, Milpitas 95035	(415) 791-2151	445-7874
McCarthy, Leo T.	D	18	San Francisco, part of San Mateo	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2662	445-8994
McVittie, Bill	D	65	Los Angeles (Pomona) and San Bernardino (Ontario)	12530 10th St., Chino 91710	(714) 627-3529	445-8490
Mello, Henry J.	D	28	Monterey, Santa Cruz	1200 Aguajito, Monterey 93940	(408) 373-0773	445-8496
Moore, Gwen	D	49	Los Angeles (Culver City)	3731 Stocker St., Los Angeles 90008	(213) 292-0605	445-8800
Moorhead, Jean	R	5	Sacramento	6021 Madison Ave., Carmichael 95608	(916) 334-8228	445-4445
Mori, S. Floyd	D	15	Alameda (southern, eastern)	22300 Foothill Blvd., Hayward 94541	(415) 538-5533	445-7380
Mountjoy, Dick	R	61	Los Angeles (San Gabriel, Arcadia)	406 S. 1st Ave., Arcadia 91006	(213) 446-6158	445-7234
Naylor, Bob	R	20	San Mateo (southern)	621 Middlefield Rd., Redwood City 94063	(415) 365-1426	445-8188
Nestande, Bruce	R	70	Orange (City of Orange, Tustin)	920 Town & Country Rd., Orange 92668	(714) 542-4775	445-2778
Nolan, Patrick	R	41	Los Angeles (Burbank, Glendale)	143 S. Glendale Ave., Glendale 91205	(213) 240-6330	445-8364
Papan, Louis J.	D	19	San Mateo (northern)	343-E Serramonte Plaza, Daly City 94015	(415) 756-6400	445-8020
Perino, Carmen	D	26	Parts of San Joaquin and Stanislaus	31 E. Channel St., Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7479	445-7931
Priolo, Paul	R	38	Los Angeles (Malibu Coast), part of Ventura	4883 Topanga Canyon Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 883-8400	445-8366
Robinson, Richard	D	72	Orange (Santa Ana, Garden Grove)	Civic Center Office Bldg., 11400 Stanford Ave., Garden Grove 92640	(714) 530-7200	445-7333
Rogers, Donald	R	33	Most of Kern	412 18th St., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 395-2927	445-8498
Roos, Mike	D	46	Los Angeles (Wilshire, Silver Lake)	600 S. New Hampshire, Los Angeles 90005	(213) 386-8042	445-7644
Rosenthal, Herschel	D	45	Los Angeles (Fairfax, Studio City)	8425 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 90048	(213) 655-9750	445-7440
Ryan, Marilyn	R	51	Los Angeles (coastal)	1815 Via El Prado, Redondo Beach 90277	(213) 540-8182	445-2112
Statham, Stan	R	1	Butte, Glenn, Lassen, Modoc, Plumas, Shasta, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity	1415 Court St., Redding 96001	(916) 244-6300	445-7266
Stirling, Dave	R	64	Los Angeles	13601 East Whittier Blvd., Whittier 90605	(213) 945-1524	445-7550
Tanner, Sally	D	60	Los Angeles (El Monte, La Puente)	11362 Valley Blvd., El Monte 91731	(213) 442-9100	445-7783
Thurman, John E.	D	27	Most of Stanislaus and Merced	930 15th St., Modesto 95354	(209) 521-1111	445-8570
Torres, Art	D	56	Los Angeles (downtown, City of Commerce)	5261 E. Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles 90022	(213) 728-8882	445-1670
Tucker, Curtis R.	D	50	Los Angeles (Inglewood, Westchester)	1 Manchester Blvd., Inglewood 90306	(213) 677-1188	445-7533
Vasconcellos, John	D	23	Santa Clara (urban)	2435 Forest Ave., San Jose 95128	(408) 241-6900	445-4253
Vicencia, Frank	D	54	Los Angeles (Compton)	8040 E. Alondra Blvd., Paramount 90723	(213) 531-0265	445-7486
Waters, Maxine	D	48	Los Angeles	7900 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 90001	(213) 582-7371	445-2363
Waters, Norman	D	7	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mono, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Tuolumne	218 W. Pine St., Lodi 95240	(209) 334-0568	445-8343
Wray, Chester B.	D	71	Orange	12777 Valley View, Garden Grove 92645	(714) 898-7844	445-6233
Wyman, Phil	R	34	Inyo, parts of Kern, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	813 West Avenue J, Lancaster 93534	(805) 948-8447	445-3266
Young, Bruce E.	D	63	Los Angeles	12440 E. Firestone Blvd., Norwalk 90650	(213) 868-0561	445-6047

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Leo McCarthy

Legislative leadership

Assembly

Speaker Leo McCarthy (D)
Speaker pro Tempore John Knox (D)
Majority Floor Leader Howard Berman (D)
Minority Floor Leader Paul Priolo (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman Art Agnos
Republican Caucus Chairman Bruce Nestande

Senate

President of the Senate Lt. Governor Mike Curb (R)
President pro Tempore James Mills (D)
Majority Floor Leader David Roberti (D)
Minority Floor Leader William Campbell (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman Omer Rains
Republican Caucus Chairman H. L. Richardson

James Mills

Senate standing committees

Rules (3D, 2R):
Chairman Mills (D); Vice Chairman Johnson (R); Nimmo (R); Petris (D); Presley (D).
Executive officer, John Williamson, 445-4311.

Agriculture and Water Resources (7D, 4R):
Chairman Ayala (D); Vice Chairman Craven (R); Garamendi (D) Alex Garcia (D); Johnson (R); Keene (D); Nielsen (R); Nimmo (R); Presley (D); Stiern (D); Vuich (D).
Consultant, Stephen Macola, 445-2206.

Business and Professions (5D, 3R):
Chairman Alex Garcia (D); Vice Chairman Roberti (D); Briggs (R); Craven (R); Greene (D); Marks (R); Montoya (D); Wilson (D).
Consultant, Bill Pettite, 445-3435.

Education (8D, 3R):
Chairman Carpenter (D); Vice Chairman Montoya (D); Alquist (D); Campbell (R); Cusanovich (R); Dills (D); Nielsen (R); Rodda (D); Smith (D); Stiern (D); Watson (D).
Consultant, James Browne, 445-2522.

Elections and Reapportionment (4D, 3R):
Chairman Wilson (D); Vice Chairman Richardson (R); Craven (R); Rains (D); Roberti (D); Schmitz (R); Zenovich (D).
Consultant, James Browning, 445-2601.

Energy and Public Utilities (6D, 3R):
Chairman Alquist (D); Vice Chairman Rains (D); Cusanovich (R); Dills (D); Foran (D); Garamendi (D); Marz Garcia (R); Keene (D); Russell (R).
Consultant, Tim Davis, 445-9765.

Finance (8D, 5R):
Chairman Rodda (D); Vice Chairman Cusanovich (R); Alquist (D); Briggs (R); Campbell (R); Greene (D); Holmdahl (D); Nejedly (R); Nimmo (R); Petris (D); Roberti (D); Smith (D); Stiern (D).
Consultant, Jack Watson, 445-5202.

Governmental Organization (6D, 4R):
Chairman Dills (D); Vice Chairman Campbell (R); Alquist (D); Beverly (R); Carpenter (D); Cusanovich (R); Foran (D); Greene (D); Marks (R); Zenovich (D).
Consultant, Lindsay W. Miller, 445-1193.

Health and Welfare (6D, 3R):
Chairman Garamendi (D); Vice Chairwoman Watson (D); Campbell (R); Carpenter (D); Alex Garcia (D); Keene (D); Marks (R); Nejedly (R); Presley (D).
Consultant, Dennis Flatt, 445-5965.

Industrial Relations (4D, 3R):
Chairman Greene (D); Vice Chairman Schmitz (R); Johnson (R); Montoya (D); Robbins (D); Russell (R); Sieroty (D).
Consultant, Casey Young, 445-1237.

Insurance and Financial Institutions (5D, 4R):
Chairman Beverly (R); Vice Chairman Robbins (D); Briggs (R); Foran (D); Russell (R); Schmitz (R); Vuich (D); Wilson (D); Zenovich (D).
Consultant, Terry J. Miller, 445-6306.

Judiciary (6D, 3R):
Chairman Smith (D); Vice Chairman Zenovich (D); Beverly (R); Nejedly (R); Richardson (R); Robbins (D); Roberti (D); Sieroty (D); Wilson (D).
Consultant, Richard Thomson, 445-5957.

Local Government (4D, 3R):
Chairman Marks (R); Vice Chairwoman Vuich (D); Ayala (D); Beverly (R); Craven (R); Robbins (D); Watson (D).
Consultant, J. Fred Silva, 445-9748.

Natural Resources and Wildlife (5D, 3R):
Chairman Nejedly (R); Vice Chairman Keene (D); Ayala (D); Garamendi (D); Nielsen (R); Richardson (R); Rodda (D); Watson (D).
Consultant, Jeffrey D. Arthur, 445-5441.

Public Employment and Retirement (2D, 2R):
Chairman Russell (R); Vice Chairman Sieroty (D); Carpenter (D); Marz Garcia (R).
Consultant, Robert Bissonnette, 445-8958.

Revenue and Taxation (6D, 3R):
Chairman Holmdahl (D); Vice Chairman Marz Garcia (R); Ayala (D); Dills (D); Nielsen (R); Petris (D); Richardson (R); Sieroty (D); Smith (D).
Consultant, Vance Hansen, 445-3808.

Transportation (7D, 2R):
Chairman Foran (D); Vice Chairman Presley (D); Briggs (R); Holmdahl (D); Johnson (R); Mills (D); Montoya (D); Rains (D); Vuich (D).
Consultant, M. Mehdi Morshed, 445-3182.

Senate committee schedule

	Room	
Monday		
Finance	4203	1:30 p.m.
Local government	5007	1:30 p.m.
Public employment and retirement	2040	1:30 p.m.*
Tuesday		
Governmental organization	5007	9:30 a.m.
Agriculture and water resources	3191	9:30 a.m.*
Natural resources and wildlife	3191	9:30 a.m.**
Judiciary	4203	1:30 p.m.
Energy and public utilities	2040	1:30 p.m.**
Transportation	2040	1:30 p.m.*
Wednesday		
Education	4203	9:30 a.m.
Business and professions	3191	9:30 a.m.**
Elections and reapportionment	2040	9:30 a.m.*
Health and welfare	4203	1:30 p.m.
Revenue and taxation	5007	1:30 p.m.
Industrial relations	2040	1:30 p.m.*
Insurance and financial institutions	2040	1:30 p.m.**
Rules	5007	9:30 a.m.

Committees meet every week unless indicated otherwise.
*Meets 1st and 3rd weeks of month.
**Meets 2nd and 4th weeks of month.

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Assembly standing committees

Agriculture (6D, 3R):
Chairman Thurman (D); Vice Chairman Costa (D); Bosco (D); Chappie (R); Duffy (R); Hallett (R); Hannigan (D); McVittie (D); Norman Waters (D).
Secretary, Afton Taylor, 445-1918.

Criminal Justice (6D, 3R):
Chairman McVittie (D); Vice Chairman Knox (D); Alatorre (D); Bannai (R); Bergeson (R); Harris (D); Johnson (R); Levine (D); Roos (D).
Consultant, Michael Ullman, 445-3268.

Education (8D, 5R):
Chairman Greene (D); Vice Chairwoman Bergeson (R); Alatorre (D); Hart (D); Hayes (R); Hughes (D); Lehman (D); Leonard (R); Mangers (D); Mountjoy (R); Rogers (R); Tanner (D); Vasconcellos (D).
Consultant, James Murdoch, 445-7807.

***Elections and Reapportionment* (6D, 3R):**
Chairwoman Ryan (R); Vice Chairman Naylor (R); Chacon (D); Deddeh (D); Hart (D); Johnson (R); Robinson (D); Thurman (D); Vicencia (D).
Consultant, Bruce Bolinger, 445-8430.

Finance, Insurance and Commerce (8D, 5R):
Chairman McAlister (D); Vice Chairman Young (D); Agnos (D); Bane (D); Bannai (R); Bosco (D); Calvo (D); Ellis (R); Hayden (R); Lancaster (R); Nestande (R); Papan (D); Robinson (D).
Consultants, Carl Brakensiek, Steve Spellman, Richard Mason, 445-9160.

Governmental Organization (7D, 4R):
Chairman Vicencia (D); Vice Chairman Lehman (D); Agnos (D); Bane (D); Chappie (R); Gage (D); Greene (D); Lancaster (R); Priolo (R); Statham (R); Wray (D).
Consultant, Parke Terry, 445-7486.

Health (8D, 5R):
Chairman Torres (D); Vice Chairwoman Moorhead (R); Agnos (D); Bates (D); Duffy (R); Egeland (D); Felando (R); Ivers (R); Mangers (D); Nolan (R); Rosenthal (D); Tucker (D); Maxine Waters (D).
Consultant, Paul Press, 445-1770.

***Housing and Community Development* (6D, 3R):**
Chairwoman Hughes (D); Vice Chairman Roos (D); Bates (D); Dennis Brown (R); Costa (D); Elder (D); Frazee (R); Moore (D); Mountjoy (R).
Consultant, Renée Franken, 445-2320.

Human Resources (6D, 3R):
Chairman Alatorre (D); Vice Chairman Nolan (R); Bosco (D); Cline (R); Costa (D); Fenton (D); Leonard (R); Lockyer (D); Moore (D).
Consultant, Masako Dolan, 445-0664.

Judiciary (8D, 5R):
Chairman Fenton (D); Vice Chairman Imbrecht (R); Berman (D); Willie Brown (D); Hayden (R); Ingalls (D); McAlister (D); McVittie (D); Moorhead (R); Nolan (R); Stirling (R); Torres (D); Maxine Waters (D).
Consultant, Tom Carroll, 445-4560.

Labor, Employment and Consumer Affairs (8D, 5R):
Chairman Lockyer (D); Vice Chairwoman Tanner (D); Elder (D); Ellis (R); Felando (R); Harris (D); Hayes (R); McAlister (D); Robinson (D); Stirling (R); Maxine Waters (D); Wyman (R); Young (D).
Consultant, Britton McFetridge, 445-2657.

Local Government (6D, 3R):
Chairman Chappie (R); Vice Chairman Frazee (R); Knox (D); Mello (D); Perino (D); Ryan (R); Tanner (D); Thurman (D); Norman Waters (D).
Consultant, Julie Nauman, 445-6034.

Public Employees and Retirement (6D, 3R):
Chairman Deddeh (D); Vice Chairman Johnson (R); Chacon (D); Cline (R); Goggin (D); Mori (D); Perino (D); Tucker (D); Wyman (R).
Consultants, Dave Cox, Gil Oster, 322-4320.

Resources, Land Use and Energy (8D, 5R):
Chairman Calvo (D); Vice Chairman Filante (R); Bates (D); Bergeson (R); Goggin (D); Hannigan (D); Kapiloff (D); Levine (D); Mello (D); Mountjoy (R); Naylor (R); Rogers (R); Rosenthal (D).
Consultant, Tom Willoughby, 445-9367.

Revenue and Taxation (8D, 5R):
Chairman Willie Brown (D); Vice Chairman *Hannigan (D); Dennis Brown (R); Filante (R);* Gage (D); Imbrecht (R); Kapiloff (D); Leonard (R); Lockyer (D); Moore (D); Mori (D); Naylor (R); Vicencia (D).
Consultant, Dave Doerr, 322-3730.

Rules (4D, 3R):
Chairman Papan (D); Vice Chairman Lancaster (R); Bannai (R); Gage (D); Hallett (R); Mangers (D); Rosenthal (D).
Chief administrative officer, Fred Taugher, 445-2995.

Transportation (8D, 5R):
Chairman Ingalls (D); Vice Chairman Harris (D); Calvo (D); Deddeh (D); Elder (D); Felando (R); Frazee (R); Ivers (R); Kelley (R); Papan (D); Tucker (D); Wray (D); Wyman (R).
Consultant, D. J. Smith, 445-7278.

Water, Parks and Wildlife (6D, 3R):
Chairman Kapiloff (D); Vice Chairman Kelley (R); Berman (D); Boatwright (D); Filante (R); Lehman (D); Mello (D); Perino (D); Rogers (R).
Consultant, Clyde Macdonald, 445-6164.

Ways and Means (13D, 8R):
Chairman Boatwright (D); Vice Chairman Duffy (R); Berman (D); Chacon (D); Egeland (D); Ellis (R); Goggin (D); Hart (D); Hayden (R); Imbrecht (R); Knox (D); Levine (D); Mori (D); Nestande (R); Roos (D); Ryan (R); Statham (R); Stirling (R); Vasconcellos (D); Norman Waters (D); Young (D).
Consultant, Krist Lane, 445-7082.

Assembly committee schedule

	Room	
Monday		
Criminal justice	2117	1:30 p.m.
Health	2133	1:30 p.m.
Revenue and taxation	4202	1:30 p.m.
Rules	A107	4:00 p.m.
Tuesday		
Ways and means (budget)	4202	9:00 a.m.
Transportation	2170	9:00 a.m.
Human resources	2133	9:00 a.m.*
Resources, land use and energy	2170	1:30 p.m.
Labor, employment and consumer affairs	2133	1:30 p.m.*
Governmental organization	6031	1:30 p.m.**
Wednesday		
Finance, insurance and commerce	4202	9:00 a.m.
Local government	2133	9:00 a.m.*
Water, parks and wildlife	2117	9:00 a.m.**
Housing and community development	2133	9:00 a.m.**
Education	4202	1:30 p.m.
Judiciary	6031	1:30 p.m.
Elections and reapportionment	6028	3:30 p.m.*
Agriculture	2170	3:30 p.m.**
Public employees and retirement	2117	3:30 p.m.**
Thursday		
Ways and means	4202	9:00 a.m.

Committees meet every week except as indicated.
*Meets first and third weeks of month.
**Meets second and fourth weeks of month.

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Keeping track of legislation

Keeping track of the thousands of bills that are introduced in the Senate and Assembly every year is a difficult job, even for well-staffed professional lobbies. To do so, they rely heavily on six official legislative guides that are published daily during the session: the Assembly and Senate *Daily Files, Journals,* and *Histories.* Single copies of these publications are available free (as are single copies of bills) from the Legislative Bill Room. Also available there, at nominal cost, is a useful and concise reference, *California's Legislature,* by James D. Driscoll, Chief Clerk of the Assembly, from which the following descriptions of the legislative publications are drawn:

Daily Files. The *Daily File* for each house is an agenda of the day's business. It lists all measures to be taken up on the floor in the order in which they are to be dealt with, and it also lists all committee hearings and the bills scheduled for hearing before each committee. Under the provisions of the Assembly rules, notice of all bills set for hearing by any committee or subcommittee must be published in the *Daily File* for three consecutive days prior to the hearing, unless there is a special waiver. The Senate rules now also require the calendar for regular committee meetings to be printed in the *Daily File* and at least two days in advance of the meeting. In addition, the *Daily File* provides an up-to-date list of the membership of all standing committees of each house.

The Daily Journals. The *Daily Journal* of each house contains a "true and correct" account of that chamber's proceedings of the preceding day. This includes the titles of all measures introduced, considered or acted upon by each house, the texts of amendments to these measures and of house resolutions, roll calls, messages from the governor and the other house, committee reports, motions, and acknowledgment of any communications. Senate committee votes are recorded and published in the Senate *Journal,* but the Assembly reports its committee votes in a separate appendix to the Assembly *Journal.*

The History. Each chamber's *History* shows the action taken on all measures on the file for action that day (except for measures passed on file) and all committee actions on bills. A *Weekly History,* published at the end of the week, summarizes the daily accounts and contains the titles of all measures introduced up to the end of that week, and the committees to which they were assigned, along with any action taken on them and the date on which it was taken. The *Weekly History* also carries the names of each house's membership, committee assignments and the schedule of meetings.

Legislative Index. At intervals during the session, a *Legislative Index* is published, listing by subject all bills introduced in the Legislature. It also contains a table showing which sections of the Constitution and statutes are affected by the measures introduced.

Other publications

Once the Legislature adjourns, the *Daily Journals* are corrected, reprinted, and deposited with the secretary of state as a permanent record of each day's proceedings. Each house also publishes a *Final History,* summarizing all legislation introduced and acted upon during the session. This history is indexed and shows which sections of law are affected by the legislation enacted, and whether the changes involved deletions, additions, removals, or renumbering.

Other key legislative bodies

Joint Legislative Audit Committee
Assemblyman Richard Robinson (D), chairman. Auditor General, 925 L St., Suite 750, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-0255.

Legislative Analyst
William G. Hamm, 925 L St., Suite 650, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-4656.

Legislative Counsel
Bion Gregory, 3021 State Capitol; (916) 445-2781; 107 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90012; (213) 620-2550.

USEFUL CAPITOL NUMBERS
(Area Code 916)

Information	445-4711
Secretary of Senate	445-4251
Chief Clerk of Assembly	445-3614
Bill Room	445-2323
Senate Research	445-1727
Assembly Research	445-1638
Archives	445-4293
Auditor General	445-0255
Legislative Analyst	445-4656
Legislative Counsel	445-2781
State Police	445-1150

Types of legislation

- **Bills** propose changes in or additions to state law. Depending upon the house of origin, they are referred to as Assembly Bills or Senate Bills, followed by a number (for example, AB 13, SB 152).
- **Constitutional Amendments,** also called "bills", actually are resolutions proposing constitutional changes to the electorate. They require a two-thirds majority in each house to qualify for the ballot. They are referred to as SCAs or ACAs.
- **Concurrent Resolutions** are used to adopt joint rules, create joint legislative committees, express legislative intent, and commend individuals for public service. They are referred to as ACRs or SCRs.
- **Joint Resolutions** express legislative opinion on matters pertaining to the federal government, and usually urge passage or defeat of legislation pending before Congress. They are referred to as SJRs or AJRs.
- **House and Senate Resolutions** express the sentiment of one house of the Legislature. They usually ask a committee to study a specific problem, create interim committees, or amend house rules. Their texts are published in the house *Journal,* and they take effect on their adoption.

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Legislative Process

IDEA

Sources of bills: legislators, legislative committees, governor, state and local governmental agencies, business firms, lobbyists, citizens.

DRAFTING

Formal copy of bill and "layman's digest" prepared by Legislative Counsel.

INTRODUCTION

Bill submitted by senator or assemblyman. Numbered and read for first time. Assigned to committee by Assembly speaker or Senate Rules Committee. Printed.

COMMITTEE

Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action; hold in committee (kill); amend and rerefer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study.

Appropriation bills, if approved by policy committee, are referred to Finance Committee in the Senate and Ways and Means Committee in the Assembly.

SECOND READING

Bills given do-pass recommendations are read a second time and placed on file for debate.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

Bills are read a third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly to pass a measure. For urgency bills and appropriation measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.

SECOND HOUSE

Bill is read for the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly speaker or Senate Rules Committee.

COMMITTEE

Procedures and possible actions are identical to those in the first house.

SECOND READING

If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE

The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.

CONCURRENCE

The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.

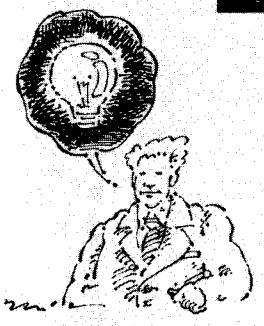
CONFERENCE

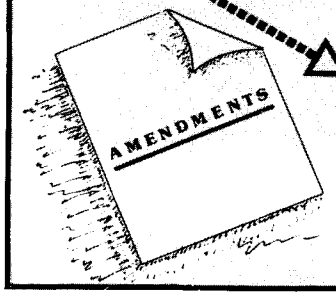
If the conferees fail to present a report, the bill dies. If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise, both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee can be formed.

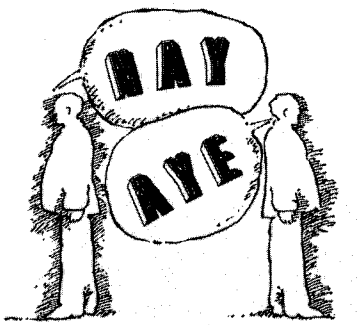
GOVERNOR

Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor can sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature, or veto it. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override.

Urgency measures become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.







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GRACE DORRIS ANNA SAYLOR ESTO BROUGHTON ELIZABETH HUGHES

The Pioneer Women in the State Legislature

By ROBERT P. STUDER

The headlines that blackened the front page of the *San Francisco Examiner* on that November Tuesday in 1918 were ambivalent — torn between the re-election victory of Governor William D. Stephens in the California elections and the impending collapse of the Kaiser's war machine on the fields of France. It would be only six days before an armistice would bring peace at last to the battlefields of Europe.

Unnoticed among the election statistics deep on an inside page, however, was a politically exciting development of major proportions that didn't even rate a story. For the first time in its history, California had elected, not one, but four women to seats in the 43rd session of its Assembly.

The event didn't rate a story, either, in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, or the *Sacramento Bee*, or the *Sacramento Union*. Even days later, in editorializing on the significance of the election, the *Union* commented on the "doom of John Barleycorn and the trend toward prohibition and the drys," but it still failed to mention the election of those women.

California voters, as often is the case, were ahead of their time. Women's suffrage in the nation was not enacted in Congress until June 4th, 1919 — six months after these pioneering women had taken seats in the state Legislature — and the 19th Amendment wasn't to be ratified by the states until 1920.

These four women were destined to make their mark in Sacramento, but the election of Grace S. Dorris, Esto B. Broughton, Anna L. Saylor and Elizabeth Hughes still would fail as any kind of a quantum leap into full feminine equality:

- Even 60 years later, by January of 1979, California still would have only a little more than twice that number of women in its Legislature. In the 1979 session, only 11 women will serve among the 120 members of the Assembly and Senate. Yet this is the highest number of women in the Legislature at one time.
- From 1918 until the '70s, only ten women were elected to the Assembly — fewer than the total number now sitting in the Assembly and Senate. In the past 60 years, only 25 women have served in the Legislature.
- It would not be until 1976 that the first woman, Rose Ann Vuich, a Dinuba Democrat, would be elected to the Senate. It would not be until 1978 that a second woman senator would be elected. Los Angeles Democrat Diane E. Watson also becomes the first Black woman in the Senate.

The guns were still thundering along the western front in France in the spring of 1918 when Wiley C. Dorris, a Bakersfield attorney, changed his mind about being a candidate for the California Legislature. Instead, he volunteered for the U.S. Navy — and urged his wife to run in his stead for the Assembly seat from Kern County.

And when Grace Dorris won both the Republican and Democratic primaries, she was on her way to becoming one of that first quartet of women to win election as legislators in the state's history. The election in November of 1918 was a mere formality.

Born in Ventura in 1887, the daughter of a Methodist Episcopal minister, Grace was adopted by an aunt, Mrs. Jennie Green, after her own mother died when she was a year old. Grace had studied to be a teacher of Latin, French and Spanish. She taught in Modoc County High School and in Kern County Union High School before she married Dorris in 1913. He came from pioneer stock. The Siskiyou County town of Dorris was named for his family, and the inherent streak of rugged individualism that sent him to war rather than to the state Legislature helped to break the sexual barrier in California's government.

Meanwhile, in the city of Modesto, another woman also had her eye on the Legislature in that turbulent, war-torn year. Esto Broughton had studied law at Berkeley and earned her doctor of jurisprudence degree from the California School of Jurisprudence. Active in Democratic Party affairs in Stanislaus County, she, too, found the year 1918 a politically fortunate one.

Robert P. Studer is the chief of bureau for the Copley News Service in Sacramento.

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Further north, in the university town of Berkeley in Alameda County, a third woman was campaigning for the Legislature. Anna L. Saylor, however, was more of a literary idealist than her more pragmatic, feminist sisters to the south. She had been a school principal and supervisor in Indiana for five years before moving to California and had served as president of the Indiana Union of Literary Clubs. Saylor had been instrumental in gaining a $30,000 grant for a library in Elmwood, Indiana. Her interests were literary, and her avowed intention as a Republican legislator was to "help lift humanity to a higher plane."

And from another corner of the state, Butte County, Elizabeth Hughes had also entered the political lists with the help of supporters who nearly convinced her to run for Congress before she decided to become a candidate for the Legislature. The wife of the principal of Oroville High School, her prime interest was education. She was particularly dedicated to providing educational opportunities for rural children that matched, as nearly as possible, those available to urban children.

As might be expected, California's first women legislators did not arrive demurely on the Sacramento scene. They had barely been seated, grouped together at desks in the heart of the Assembly chamber, when Dorris introduced a resolution urging Congress to pass the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution — women's suffrage.

Not long after that, she introduced as her first bill legislation that would shorten the work day of domestic servants to 10 hours. This was the first legislation ever to be introduced in California by a woman. That first bill, however, didn't pass. It would not become law until a later session.

Dorris, who was beginning a legislative career that would span three terms, set out to take on California's powerful landowners. She said she believed that everyone "should have a right to own land and a home as long as there are lands or homes still unoccupied in the state." She supported the "purchase or condemnation of vast tracts of land monopolized by a few men or estates and the sale of such lands to actual settlers." And she advocated bringing water to the land so it could be farmed.

She authored amendments to the California Water Storage Act that passed in 1925 but didn't become law until 1927. She also fought for the idea of having a public defender as well as a public prosecutor in the California courts.

Esto Broughton, who also was beginning a political career that would last for three terms, came to the Legislature from the fertile but water-hungry San Joaquin Valley. Uppermost in her mind was the exciting potential of irrigation, and she was co-author of the Broughton-Bennett bill which would allow irrigation projects. History would later credit this law with much of the prosperity which came in succeeding years to the Modesto area.

Broughton fought, too, for passage of California's community property law, and she chaired a committee which studied unemployment and led to enactment of Assembly Bill 247 in 1919 which provided for expansion of public works projects in periods of temporary industrial depression.

Anna Saylor, who also served three terms, was the author in 1921 of legislation that would forbid capital punishment for any person under the age of 18. Her efforts won praise from the *San Francisco Examiner*, which cited an "aroused public which had succeeded in preventing these executions, but it should not be necessary to put these matters to the governor . . . the law should specifically cover them.

"It is significant that a woman member of the Assembly introduced this measure," the *Examiner* stressed. "Women, it would seem, are more sensitive to these things than are men . . ." Saylor served as chairwoman of the Assembly committee on amendments.

Elizabeth Hughes, who was reelected to a second term in 1921, presided over the Assembly education committee, and also served on these: agriculture, conservation, elections, federal relations and drainage, swamp and overflowed lands.

In the intervening years, California voters have been sporadic in their support of feminine candidates. Yet, once elected, women legislators have proved to be effective and often served a number of terms. Some went on to achieve higher elective office. Assemblywoman March Fong (now Eu) is beginning her second term as secretary of state and is even reported to be eyeing the possibility of seeking the governorship in 1982. Yvonne Brathwaite (now Burke) was elected to Congress after serving in the California Assembly and was a candidate for attorney general in 1978.

Another assemblywoman, Pauline Davis, represented the mountain counties of Lassen, Modoc, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou and Trinity for 23 years until she decided to step down in 1976. Davis, a Democrat, never considered herself a "woman legislator," however. "I'm a legislator with the responsibility of representing all my constituents, and who, incidentally, is a woman," she insisted.

Other pioneer feminine lawmakers included Cora Woodbridge, Republican, of Nevada-Placer Counties (1923 and 1925); Eleanor Miller, Republican, Los Angeles (1923, 1927, 1931, 1941); Sarah E. Kellogg, Republican, Los Angeles (1931); Kathryn Niehouse, Republican, San Diego (1943, 1945, 1951, 1953); Dorothy M. Donohoe, Democrat, Kern (1953); Jeanette E. Daley, Democrat, San Diego (1937, 1941); and Wanda Sankary, Democrat, San Diego (1955).

Until the balloting of last November, the California Assembly had only five women members. All five were re-elected — Democrats Leona H. Egeland of San Jose and Teresa P. Hughes and Maxine Waters of Los Angeles, and Republicans Carol Hallett of Atascadero and Marilyn Ryan of Redondo Beach.

In that same election, four more women won seats in the Assembly — Republicans Jean Moorhead of Sacramento and Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach, and Democrats Gwen Moore of Los Angeles and Sally Tanner of El Monte.

With Diane Watson joining Rose Ann Vuich in the Senate, California's feminine representation in its Legislature rose to an historic high of 11.

Although women in California gained more representation in their state than ever before, they lost ground on the national scene. When Shirley Pettis retired and Yvonne Burke ran for attorney general last year, California's feminine representation in Congress went back to zero.

Thus, although California was early in giving women the opportunity for elective office, it still has a long way to go. According to the California Commission on the Status of Women, prior to the 1976 elections the Golden State had the dubious distinction of being the "third worst" in the nation in the percentage of feminine representation in the state legislatures. States which led the pack included New Hampshire, 27 per cent; Connecticut, 19 per cent; Arizona, 17.8 per cent; Maine, 16.3 per cent; Washington and Colorado, 15 per cent; and Vermont, 14 per cent. As a result of the 1978 elections, California is expected to move to the "mid-range" at 9.2 per cent, the commission says.

One nationwide statistic provides food for thought: According to a recent study by the Eagleton Institute of Rutgers University, women have gained more representation in states in which legislatures are poorly paid. Whether or not that is coincidental, it is clear that California — with some of the best-paid legislators in the nation — has hardly been a leader in electing women to represent its voters.

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California *CAPSULES*

Governor calls March 6th election to replace Ryan

Governor Jerry Brown set March 6th as the date for a special election to replace Democratic Congressman Leo J. Ryan of South San Francisco, who was assassinated in Guyana. A large field was expected. If no candidate receives more than half of the votes cast, a runoff election will be held on April 3rd between the top finishers of each party. The district is 58 percent Democratic.

30 ex-legislators and widows seek pension bonanza

Some 30 retired state legislators or their widows have gone to court in an effort to get "double-escalator" pensions from the state. Their claim is based on the successful attempt by former state Treasurer Bert Betts to receive the benefit of increases in salary that have been granted his successors, plus annual cost-of-living adjustments. Should the legislators be successful, former Assemblyman Clayton Dills of Los Angeles would receive about $66,700 this year. He now gets $14,232 a year. The new pensions would be based on present legislator salaries, not those in effect when each recipient retired.

Current lawmakers will be beneficiaries of a change in the state's daily allowance for travel expenses — from $40 to $46 a day. The 15-percent increase was approved by the state Board of Control, 2-1, over the opposition of Governor Brown.

Andrus declares peace with state over water quality

Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus announced that the federal government will comply voluntarily with water-quality standards established by the state for the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta. New state standards for the delta were issued in 1971 and again last August. The state has attempted to force the federal government to operate its water facilities in compliance with the standards. The federal government has never agreed to comply, and Andrus made it clear that the federal government was not relinquishing its authority to California. In fact, the agreement announced by Andrus contains a major loophole: It would not apply to drought years, when federal cooperation would be needed most.

Public hearing approved for probe of Supreme Court

The state Judicial Council, by a 10-6 vote, has ordered a public hearing into allegations that members of the state Supreme Court postponed release of a decision in the *Tanner* case ("use a gun, go to prison") for the political benefit of Chief Justice Rose Elizabeth Bird. Normally, all proceedings of the Commission on Judicial Performance are confidential. Bird had requested an open hearing.

Newsmakers

State Auditor General **John Williams** was fired by the Joint Legislative Audit Committee for his handling of the audit of the state Franchise Tax Board . . . Republican Assemblyman **Eugene Chappie** announced that in 1980 he will run for the congressional seat held by veteran Democrat **Harold (Bizz) Johnson**, who did not win by his usual overwhelming margin last November . . . Democratic Assemblyman **Carmen Perino** of Stockton was fined $400 after pleading *nolo contendere* to a misdemeanor charge of mailing a deceptive piece of campaign literature.

Resignations: President **Robert Batinovich** of the state Public Utilities Commission, to tend to private business; industrialist **Norton Simon** as chairman of the California Transportation Commission, because he was frustrated with the path of the commission; director **LeRoy Chatfield** of the California Conservation Corps, to join the family business; **Anthony Dougherty**, as legislative aide to Governor Brown, to raise political funds for Brown . . . The Governor indicated that another of his legislative assistants, **B.T. Collins**, would replace Chatfield.

Mayor **Dianne Feinstein** of San Francisco appointed gay leader **Harry Britt** and environmentalist attorney **Louise Renne** to replace the late **Harvey Milk** and herself on the city's board of supervisors . . . Former Mayor **Joseph Alioto** renewed his San Francisco voter registration amid speculation he would challenge Feinstein in November . . . **Joseph M. Quinn**, former deputy mayor of Los Angeles under Sam Yorty and father of state Air Resources Board Chairman Tom Quinn, died at 66.

Seth M. Hufstedler, former president of the State Bar, was appointed as special counsel to the state Commission on Judicial Performance in the investigation of the state Supreme Court . . . Chief Justice **Rose Elizabeth Bird** underwent routine surgery for the removal of a small malignant growth under her right arm . . . Died at 43: **Gary L. Wilhelm**, a government professor at Sacramento State University and co-editor of the *Journal's California Government and Politics Annual.*

Appointments by Governor Brown: Defeated state Senator **John Dunlap** of Napa, to the Worker's Compensation Appeals Board ($51,624 a year) . . . Former Assemblyman **Eugene Gualco** of Sacramento, as a superior court judge ($51,624 a year) . . . **Edwin W. Beach**, chief deputy finance director, to the Board of Control. He replaces **Ruth Church Gupta**, who was removed after the board approved an increase in daily expense allowance for state employees and lawmakers . . . **Barbara Metzger**, as the Governor's press secretary; attorney **Dwight C. Steele** of Walnut Creek, to the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency; editor **Brad Pye Jr.** of Los Angeles, to the state Athletic Commission . . . Defeated Superior Court Judge **Leonard Goldstein**, to a municipal court judgeship in Orange County.

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PHOTOS BY EVAN NOSSOFF

UNDAUNTED BY PROP. 6 DEFEAT

Senator Briggs versus 'grass, gays and godlessness'

By Pat Washburn

Republican state Senator John V. Briggs describes his duty in the California Legislature as "providing leadership in rearranging the morals of California." He warns that the Golden State is becoming the land of "grass, gays and godlessness." He wants to be the man who will lead California away from sin and immorality onto the path of righteousness.

Briggs, 48, is a family man. He and Carmen, his wife, have three children. He describes the family as the bond that cements the nation, and his major concern is protection of the family structure against a triad of destructive forces: homosexuality, drugs and pornography, He promises that he will be involved mainly in issues that concern the family during the 1979 legislative session.

Briggs — the proud father of the anti-homosexual Proposition 6 on last November's ballot — is especially concerned with a bill just introduced by San Francisco Democrat Assemblyman Art Agnos. The bill, AB 1, would add a section prohibiting discrimination because of sexual orientation to the Fair Employment Practices Act. Briggs interprets this bill as another possible victory for homosexuals and a threat to the family. "Now they've felt their Cheerios and they're gonna go with AB 1 . . . every employer in the state will have to give them (homosexuals) preference.

"I maintain that homosexuality is anti-family;" he says. The homosexual movement wants to destroy the American nuclear family." Then he explains in an aside: "They call it nuclear family because we live in a nuclear age."

The senator becomes quite animated when discussing homosexuals. His eyes get bright. He leans forward and gestures pleadingly for understanding. His voice takes on that hypnotic sing-song rhythm and urgency common to Southern fundamentalist preachers. In this tone he discusses AB 1: "Where's the protection for the family man?" Then he quotes an imaginary employer: "Well, I'm sorry, but we gotta hire the Black man. We gotta hire the handicapped. We gotta hire the woman. We have to hire the homosexual, but we don't have to hire the family man."

Briggs also plans to introduce a bill on busing, one that "would prohibit state funds from being used to bus children." Briggs calls his anti-busing bill "pro-neighborhood schools."

In addition, he has an anti-terrorist bill in the making: "I was personally terrorized by five members of an underground group." On November 17th, 1977, he says, five members of a Weather Underground splinter group were arrested just before they allegedly were going to plant a pipe bomb at Briggs' Fullerton office. Briggs claims the Federal Bureau of Investigation had been watching the group for more than seven years but had never been able to arrest them. As a result, Briggs says he wants to pass a bill that would give law enforcement officers the ability to move against terrorists more easily.

Pornography and limiting government spending complete Briggs' list of top priorities facing California. He wants to deal with these issues by constitutional amendments or initiatives — and he points out that he has some expertise with the initiative process.

Advancing John

Until last year, John Briggs was relatively unknown outside of his Orange County hometown of Fullerton. It was then that he decided to run for governor. Republican Senator Robert Beverly of Los Angeles believes that Briggs' primary motive for introducing Proposition 6, the initiative on homosexuals, and Proposition 7, the death penalty initiative, was to establish some name identification.

"I think John was out to advance John," Beverly says. "I think the things he carried (in the last election) were designed to advance his candidacy for governor. I don't know that he was that dedicated to the propositions themselves . . . I'm not saying he didn't believe in them, but his primary motive was to establish some identification."

But Briggs insists that he did not seek attention for himself with the two initiatives. His aim with Proposition 6, he says, was to reverse the growing acceptance of homosexuals as normal, not deviant, people. "It's not nice and normal . . . Homosexuality is a sin."

As for the death penalty initiative, Briggs has been a proponent of capital punishment throughout his political career. He witnessed the last execution in California in 1967 when Aaron Mitchell was executed in the San Quentin gas chamber. He says he went as a state witness, and to "test the strength of my convictions. " His death penalty convictions have not weakened, although he admits the execution was "a gruesome thing."

It is the strength of Briggs' convictions that is questioned most often, and by some conservatives as well as by most liberal observers. Republican state Senator H. L. (Bill) Richardson, for example, calls Briggs a "drop your pants politician — a man who would do anything, no matter how demeaning, to attract attention.

Briggs admits that "you have to rise above the noise level" to get the voters' attention. His homosexual initiative shoved him onto center stage and he loved it. He appeared on television and radio shows. He called news conferences that drew curious reporters who wanted to hear what the "kooky" senator from Fullerton had to say this time. "I've

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gotten above the noise level," he says. "I am making a major impact not only in California, but nationally."

Assemblyman Agnos sees Briggs differently: "If we look at the past, anybody who has tried to exploit human rights issues may have a temporary spotlight on them. But over the long run, they fade away into obscurity — that's probably what's going to happen to John Briggs."

Even though the homosexual initiative lost by more than a million votes (3,920,265 to 2,788,765), Briggs feels he won a personal victory: "There I was marching down Straight Street with almost three million people behind me. And over there on Gay Street was a group of politicians and all the gays. It's this imaginary street. And here I am with my parade. For a guy from Fullerton, California, whom nobody ever heard of before, really, to have a parade of almost three million people behind you, that's a big parade."

Briggs still owes about $200,000 in loans from the campaign to finance the initiatives. He says that he has a third trust deed on his house: "I'm not destitute, but I'm not a rich man."

If he isn't wealthy, Briggs certainly is more comfortable now than he was before he entered politics. Born in South Dakota in 1930, Briggs moved to Southern California when he was five and grew up in the Orange County area. The family was Depression-poor: "We moved literally every time the rent came due, from 1935 to 1939." Briggs was graduated from California State University, Long Beach, in 1956 with a degree in business administration. By then he had already entered the insurance business.

His political career began in 1962 when he opposed William Dannemeyer for an Assembly seat. Briggs lost. He lost again in 1964. Then, in the reapportionment of 1966, "despite the fact that some people deny it, they drew me out of the old district in which I was running, and they put in a new district. That's how I got elected." The United Republicans of California supported Briggs in the 1966 campaign.

'Restless and bored'

In 1976, after five terms in the Assembly, he moved to the state Senate. "I had become very restless and bored with the other house (Assembly)," he says. "I left there primarily because I had branded Leo McCarthy as Idi Amin Adada, Speaker for Life, Ruler of Uganda in Sacramento, holding court in the State Assembly. 'Cause that's how it is . . . I wanted to become a senator because each senator is treated as equally and important as every other senator."

In the Senate Briggs serves on the Senate insurance and financial institutions committee, charged with acting on bills concerning insurance and financial institutions. Briggs denies that there is any conflict of interest between his committee post and his ownership of an active insurance business, the John V. Briggs Insurance Company: "I virtually dropped out of the insurance business after I got into the Legislature . . . I don't have an office. I don't have a key. I don't have a salary. I don't have a commission. I just say, look, you run it down there and keep it for me. It's a little thing that I have, but not much . . . I have no conflict on this insurance committee."

He cites his vote on an issue that he claims made one of his insurance companies very angry: "I was the author of a bill that required insurance companies to create a pool of money to be used when an insurance company went bankrupt." Yet campaign contribution disclosures show that several major insurance companies supported his campaigns for the Senate and for governor. Included on that list are Bank of America, Crocker National Bank, Transamerica Financial Corporation, Household Finance, AVCO Finance, American Savings and Loan, Farmers Insurance Group, Pacific Mutual and Occidental Life.

Another source of controversy has been a 1972 MediCal contract award providing health services for a maximum of 20,000 poor persons in Orange County. The contract, with potential value of $7.1 million annually, went to Dr. Edward H. Rubin, the major stockholder in a chain of clinics and hospitals in Los Angeles and Orange counties. Rubin told reporters that Briggs had been "very helpful" to him in winning the account, and that he was buying liability and malpractice insurance from Briggs' firm.

The firm was Continental Insurance Brokers, Incorporated, and Briggs has said that in 1972 he owned 50 percent of it. Neither man has disclosed dollar amounts involved, but a health industry source has estimated that Rubin's insurance could yield upwards of $200,000 in annual premiums.

According to Briggs, he dropped out of Continental Insurance Brokers in 1976. He says that he now owns only one firm, the John V. Briggs Insurance Company. When asked what happened to the Rubin account, he replies, "That one? I still have that one. It's not a very big one. I don't know why I kept it . . . If it brings in $15,000 to $20,000 in annual premiums, I'd be surprised."

A born-again Christian

Briggs' self-anointed role as crusader may be attributable to his unusual theological background. He professes to be a born-again Christian and a Charismatic Catholic who had a fundamentalist, Pentecostal upbringing. But he does not deny himself an occasional indulgence: He keeps a bottle of Remy Martin cognac in his office and takes his cognac straight, in a small paper cup. "I've had this bottle of cognac for three years," he explains. "That's how often we drink cognac around here."

Briggs' basic philosophy — that government should not interfere with people's lives — only appears to conflict with his fight for laws that legislate morality, he says. Certain laws in the fields of marijuana, homosexuality, welfare and crime are necessary, he insists — for the health of society.

According to Briggs, it's only a matter of time before the rest of the state and nation fall into step behind him and his views. "I've generally been ahead of everybody, not 'cause I'm so much smarter. That's just the way it is."

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The growing pains of the Central Coast region

By MARY BARNETT

The city of Santa Cruz, which is planning to build a dam on Zayante Creek to provide water for future growth, received some bad news recently. It came in a letter from Thomas Lundquist, who identified himself as a professor of invertebrate zoology at the University of California at Santa Cruz.

Lundquist informed the city water department that the dam would flood the last refuge of an endangered species known as the Zayante humpback slug, whose appearance, habits and sex life were described in detail. Any dam receiving federal funds, such as the proposed Zayante Dam, that threatens to wipe out an endangered species, would require special approval, he noted, and perhaps could not be built at all.

Alarmed city officials assured the professor everything possible would be done to save the creature in planning for the dam. Meanwhile a nosy newsman discovered there is no Thomas Lundquist on the university staff. The existence of the humpback slug, which nobody but the elusive Lundquist had ever heard of, was called into serious question.

Creating a fictitious slug is only one of many ploys that residents of the Central California Coast have used to stem the influx of people from less favored places to their own personal heaven. Growth — how much, where it should go and how to control it, if at all — is far and away the region's major political issue.

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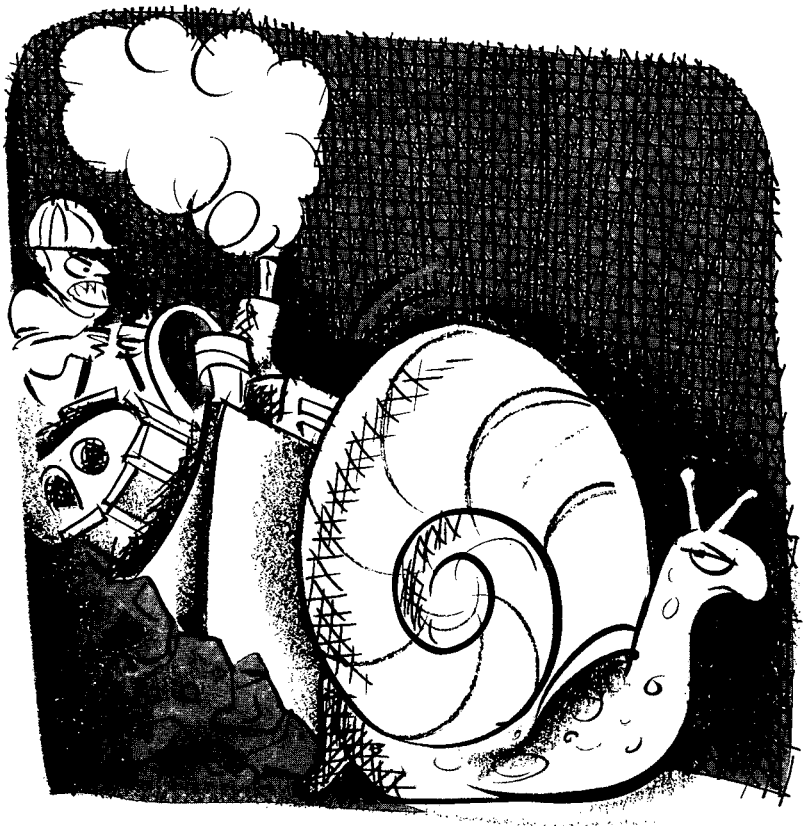

ILLUSTRATION BY RIC HÜGO

Everybody's dream

Sam Farr, young Big Sur-Carmel Valley representative on the Monterey County Board of Supervisors, perhaps sums up the situation most succinctly: "Everybody wants to live in California," he says, "and the part of California everybody wants to live in is the Central Coast."

And why not? The counties of San Luis Obispo, Monterey, Santa Cruz and San Benito — which together make up the 16th Congressional District and are often lumped together under the term Central Coast — are blessed with a pleasant climate, fine scenery and clear skies. They also boast several of its most attractive small cities, among them San Luis Obispo, Monterey, Carmel and Santa Cruz. The three larger counties border the Pacific, and little San Benito County is a short drive from the shore. The region offers mountains, forests and lots of open space. It would be hard to find a more agreeable part of the world in which to live.

Despite its amenities, the Central Coast contains only about two or three per cent of the state's population. It was a situation which seemed bound to change, and changing it is. The Central Coast is currently the fastest-growing section of the state, increasing in population at a rate twice that of California as a whole.

State Department of Finance figures show Santa Cruz County grew 31.4 per cent in population between 1970 and 1976, San Luis Obispo, 26.2 per cent, and San Benito 12.5 per cent. Only Monterey County, with 3.3 per cent growth, fell below the average state growth of 6.4 percent in the six-year period. But Monterey County's growth is uneven. Population is flocking into the northern part of the county, particularly into its largest city, Salinas (population 76,000). Severe pressures on housing and on agricultural land are resulting.

Santa Cruz County

In Santa Cruz County, just over the Santa Cruz Mountains from the burgeoning metropolis of San Jose, stresses have been greatest and polarization on the growth issue is most extreme. In June, voters recalled two supervisors backed by liberals and environmentalists and put in two "property-rights" people. Phil Baldwin lost his seat to Dan Forbus, the veteran Branciforte-Live Oak supervisor he

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had beaten in 1976. San Lorenzo Valley Supervisor Ed Borovatz yielded his seat to Pat Liberty, whom he had defeated two years before. The recall was financed by $100,000 contributed by developers and physicians (not mutually-exclusive classes, it was widely noted). The new line-up left only a young attorney, Gary Patton, from the board's previous three-to-two majority dubbed "anti-growth" or "pro-environment," depending on the speaker's point of view. Patton handily won re-election from his Santa Cruz city and North Coast district, which contains the University of California at Santa Cruz.

But political dopesters trying to read popular support for growth into the recall election results were baffled by passage of "Measure J" on the county ballot. Authored by Patton, it requires the board of supervisors to adopt a growth management program to save prime agricultural lands, preserve a distinction between urban and rural areas, protect resources, set an annual population growth goal limiting growth to the county's "fair share" of state growth, and set aside 15 per cent of housing units built each year for persons of low or moderate income. The people had spoken. But what had they said?

Santa Cruz County supervisors are still wrestling with implementation of Measure J. However, they decided on a 2.2 growth rate for the current year in a compromise action. Forbus and Aptos area Supervisor Marilyn Liddicoat, wife of physician and recall-leader Douglas Liddicoat, wanted no slow-down from the present growth rate. Backing a 1.4 per cent annual rate — the current state average — were Patton and, surprisingly enough, Liberty, who learned that was what most of her constituents wanted and decided her job was to represent them. At the time of the vote, the county was short a fifth supervisor because of the death of Watsonville area Supervisor Cecil Smith, generally regarded as conservative and pro-development.

Predictably, the 2.2 rate satisfied no one. Groused Aptos contractor Chuck Holcomb, "We came off like a man who has lost only one arm." Anti-growth forces thought the rate too high. But by agreeing to the 2.2 rate, Patton and Liberty got the other two supervisors to drop a threat to seek repeal of Measure J.

Since the supervisors' action doesn't affect cities, the environmental faction turned its attention to the county's largest city, Santa Cruz (population 38,000). Turning up as spokesman for an organization called Greenbelt, the recall-ousted Borovatz handed the city council a petition signed by some 4,500 voters — more than the required 15 per cent — to put a measure on the ballot to save the Pogonip area north of town as permanent open space. Greenbelters are also circulating a petition for a measure limiting the city growth rate to 1.4 per cent. The council reacted by voting to put an advisory measure on the ballot, giving the voters a choice among three growth rates — 1.4 per cent, 1.7 per cent and 2.2 per cent.

Monterey County

Monterey County is also looking at growth management. After two-and-a-half years of study, the board of supervisors this fall adopted a two-page "motherhood-and-apple-pie" statement for managed growth. It now faces the task of getting down to specifics. The county planning commission has recommended implementing the plan by adopting a one per cent annual growth limit. Rejecting Farr's suggestion to adopt the proposal right off, supervisors instead set a public hearing on the issue.

Less polarized than the Santa Cruz County board, the Monterey County body has its own alignment on growth issues. Up until November 7th, two supervisors were generally regarded as favoring all development — Salinas Supervisor Ed Norris and Kenneth Blohm of Castroville.

ILLUSTRATION BY RIC HÜGO

Two were seen as being for "managed growth" — Farr and Monterey Peninsula Supervisor Michael Moore. That left the grandfatherly board chairman, Dusand Petrovic of the King City area, as the swing vote.

All this changed on November 7th when a 36-year-old Salinas housewife, law student and League of Women Voters leader, Barbara Shipnuck, defeated Norris to become the first woman member of the board. Was Norris' defeat because of his pro-growth stance? Shipnuck thinks not.

"The main issue was his approach to government versus mine," she says. "He was looked on as somewhat aloof. This was the only district with no functioning supervisor's office."

Admitting that developers view her election as meaning trouble for them, Shipnuck denies she is "no-growth." She sees herself as another swing vote.

San Luis Obispo County

Traditionally a cow county with an economy dominated by cattle and sheep raising, San Luis Obispo County is currently feeling strong growth pressures too. As yet county government is not considering growth limits, although there are those who would like to see it happen.

Tall, blond-bearded Supervisor Kurt Kupper of Pismo Beach is one of the new breed of Central Coast supervisors in the Farr and Patton mold — young, articulate, environmentally aware. He's also blunt. Asked how the county is dealing with growth, he replies, "We're not." He and north-county Supervisor Richard Kresja, biology instructor at California State Polytechnic University, are concerned about pressures of growth and development on the environment. Board Chairman Howard Mankins and long-time Atascadero Supervisor and rancher Hans Heilmann are usually regarded as pro-growth, but observers say they are changing. Elderly Milton Willeford, a friend to developers, retired last month and was replaced by Stephen MacElvaine of Morro Bay, as yet an unknown quantity. MacElvaine defeated county planning staff member John Ecklund, who favored setting a three per cent growth limit.

Without some growth limitation, Kupper and Kresja predict a gloomy future. They quote County Planning Director Ned A. Rogoway, who has pointed out that even if the

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county didn't split one more piece of property, its population could grow from 140,000 to two million if all present lots are built upon.

Kupper thinks the situation is critical: "Calculations of water in our basins show that if we utilize as much as possible, and bring in state project water, and if the city folks use all of the water agriculture is using, we can't provide water for the population permitted by present lot splits and zoning."

San Benito County

Even little San Benito County, with an estimated population of 20,500 in 1976, has growing pains. In sleepy San Juan Bautista, with a population of 1,170, the city planning commission has recommended a three per cent growth rate policy, which would limit the town to 20 new residential units a year. Although it might seem San Juan is scarcely threatened with becoming a metropolis, the town's chief source of income is from tourists attracted by the state historical park surrounding the Mission Plaza. Tourists don't come to see suburban sprawl — there's probably enough of that at home. Besides, agriculture is the county's major industry, and there is strong support for saving it.

Throughout the Central Coast area, in fact, preservation of agriculture is an important issue. But it is one of far more than local importance. The Pajaro and Salinas valleys and the vegetable fields of southern, coastal San Luis Obispo County are among the most productive agricultural lands in the world.

Measure J commits Santa Cruz County to preserving prime and economically productive agricultural lands. This part of the initiative has yet to be implemented — and by a board whose majority was against Measure J.

In Monterey County, Shipnuck cites "an economic and emotional commitment to remaining an agricultural community." Nor does Blohm see problems in preserving agriculture, but he adds, "There's a question whether all this agricultural land is needed." Farr thinks the philosophy of preserving farmland exists, but so far the technique does not.

In San Luis Obispo County, landowner and environmental activist Harold Miossi hoped to get agricultural and environmental interests to work together. So far he has failed. "Agricultural interests still run the county," he says. "And those that own the land still want to sell it for development when they bail out."

Rare unanimity has been achieved in the Central Coast area on one issue. Liberals, conservatives, and pro- and anti-growth factions have joined to fight threatened offshore oil drilling. So far they've not had much luck.

The Bureau of Land Management has named as Lease Sale 53 that portion of the California coast from Point Conception to the Oregon border beginning three miles offshore and extending 70 miles to sea. The area has been gridded into thousands of nine-square-mile tracts. Of those nominated by oil companies and being studied by the Interior Department as potential oil drilling sites, almost one-half are off the Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo county coasts. There are some off San Mateo County, bordering Santa Cruz County on the north. With Interior now beginning its environmental impact statement process on the drilling, it will be two years before leases can be granted.

Although none of the tracts proposed for lease was off Monterey and Santa Cruz counties, their supervisors worked as diligently against the drilling as if they were. "We all share a common ocean," says Farr. "Oil spills won't respect political boundaries."

Nine supervisors from counties bordering the lease sale went back to Washington to try to stop it or at least to cut down on the number of tracts available for bidding. They had vigorous support from the 16th Congressional District's congressman, Leon Panetta, a Monterey Democrat. But when the announcement of tracts to be studied in the EIS came out, all tracts nominated by oil companies in the top category were included.

Energy problems are of major importance in Central Coast politics. With a small population and only one congressman to speak for it, Central Coast political leaders fear that their area is in danger of becoming what Kresja calls the "boiler room of the state."

"We are the focal point of every lame-brained energy scheme there is," he fumes. "We're second alternative for a supertanker port at Estero Bay. We're second alternative site for a liquefied natural gas port. We're ignored by the feds on our request for negative declarations on Lease Sale 53."

The supertanker and LNG ports are cups that appear to have passed from San Luis Obispo County. But then there's Diablo Canyon. Down at Avila Beach, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has been holding hearings to decide whether Pacific Gas and Electric Company should get a license to operate two nuclear reactors (built at a cost of $1.4 billion) despite the presence of a major earthquake fault offshore. The NRC's Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards has given its approval, but it noted that if the fault had been discovered before the plant was built, instead of the other way around, it would have advocated looking for another site.

Ten years ago, when the California Public Utilities Commission held hearings on PG&E's application to build the plants, public opinion was overwhelmingly favorable. At the NRC hearings, nearly all of the public testimony has been against the plant. Most plant foes think it is too late to stop Diablo, but the switch in sentiment shows a new spirit in the Central Coast.

The Diablo issue is only one indication. No longer is a supervisor necessarily a fiftyish male farmer or businessman. When Farr was appointed to the Monterey County Board of Supervisors by Governor Jerry Brown, he was the youngest person ever to sit on that body. Now there are two younger members — Shipnuck and Moore.

Winds of change

Because of the presence of the University of California at Santa Cruz, the new wind blows strongest there. Some of the results of activism by university students and staff members include a pre-trial release program, a near miss on rent-control, an anti-speculation tax which faces legal challenge, and pressure for home births and "birth centers" to supplement the traditional delivery room. To a lesser extent, there's liberalizing pressure from California State Polytechnic University in San Luis Obispo, too. Monterey County, without a major college or university, has lacked the sort of political push such institutions provide — to the relief of some and the regret of others.

But even there, the days of domination by rural and conservative interests seem to be over. Farr won a resounding victory in his first election bid, and Shipnuck beat Norris with strong support from a Mexican-American community newly aware of its political power. The Central Coast's state senator, Robert P. Nimmo, is a Republican, a conservative and a rancher. But Assemblywoman Carol Hallett, 41, Republican representing San Luis Obispo and southern Monterey counties, has shown that a woman can be elected to state office from the 29th District. And Henry Mello, the Democratic assemblyman representing northern Monterey and Santa Cruz counties, is a moderate with much liberal support.

In the tradition-bound Central Coast, times obviously are changing.

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Brown's twin speeches:

Presidential-campaign inaugural and routine state-of-the-state

The following are excerpts from Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr.'s inaugural address on January 8th and state-of-the-state message to the Legislature on January 16th:

Inaugural

The new year on which we now begin is a year of testing. Once again our economy is careening down the path of inflation that inexorably leads to recession . . .

In the last four years, 1.5 million jobs have been created and the proportion of people over 16 employed in the wage economy has grown from 56 percent to 61 percent, a participation rate matched rarely anywhere in this country or anywhere else in the world . . .

More than half of the eligible citizens of California again decided not to vote in the last election. Why the anti-government mood? I asked this same question four years ago and now I believe I understand. Simply put, the citizens are revolting against a decade of political leaders who righteously spoke against inflation and excessive government spending but who in practice pursued the opposite course . . .

People know that something is wrong when the federal government stimulates inflation and inflation raises the face value of prices, income and property, so that the taxes on each grow higher and higher. This perverse government money machine has created a fiscal dividend for local, state and federal government and allowed all three to expand faster than inflation and faster than real economic growth. These unauthorized dividends are now being cancelled. The tax revolt is being heard . . .

It is time to get off the treadmill, to challenge the assumption that more government spending automatically leads to better living. The facts prove otherwise. More and more inflationary spending leads to decline abroad and decadence at home . . .

Tax cut

I propose that this year the state government lower the amount of taxes it collects per $100 of income to the level of four years ago. This will require a billion dollar tax cut. Such a tax reduction should, on a percentage basis, give the greatest benefit to renters and those at the lower and middle level of the income scale . . .

Some might ask, how did the state obtain this billion dollars? Did the state extract it from new wealth or increased production? Was there a vote of the Legislature to levy a new tax? No! Quite simply the perverse money machine of inflation is artificially raising income, property, prices and profits and combining with pre-existing state law to generate a tax windfall. Unearned, unvoted and undeserved.

Next, I propose that for the first time since World War II, we actually decrease the number of positions in state government. A reduction of 5,000 is reasonable and attainable without significant layoffs . . .

As government makes itself more productive, it must also strip away the roadblocks and the regulatory underbrush that it often mindlessly puts in the path of private citizens. Unneeded licenses and proliferating rules can stifle initiative, especially for small business . . . Where economic incentives, instead of rules, can accomplish the goal, they should be tried . . .

Balanced budget

Finally, in order to ensure that we permanently slow the inflationary growth of government, I will support an appropriate constitutional amendment to limit state and local spending . . . I will also support the resolution now pending before the Legislature calling upon Congress to propose a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget or to convene a constitutional convention to achieve this goal . . . A constitutional convention to propose an amendment to balance the budget is unprecedented, but so is the paralysis that prevents necessary action . . .

For too long we have ignored Mexico. Unless we understand that California and Mexico are linked by history, geography, families and a common future, we will miss one of the great opportunities of the next decade . . .

California will build for the future, not steal from it. And as we do, we will know in our hearts patriotism is not just defending the country of our fathers, but preparing the land of our children.

State-of-the-state

I wish to lay out an agenda not coming just from the executive branch, but rather a list of those things that we can do together to build for the future . . . And we prepare for it by building and expanding the productive assets of our economy, building our capital assets. And I divide that capital into three forms: our human capital, our environmental capital and our technological capital . . .

First of all, our human capital, the most important of all . . . We created well over a half million new jobs, and yet alongside of these new jobholders we confront the paradox of hundreds of thousands of people who are still out of work . . . Many are minorities, young people, who have not at all experienced this great wave of prosperity that swept across the state of California. In fact, many of those jobs went to people who twelve months ago were not in the State of California . . . And I see in that paradox the fundamental requirement that we make sure as we extend job opportunity principally in the private sector, that state government redouble its commitment to affirmative action and those programs that will assure an equal opening of the job markets to all the citizens of our state. And I place a very strong emphasis on our affirmative action policies, both in the schools, in government service and in the private sector . . . Next, I would propose five million dollars in new money

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for on-the-job training and apprenticeship programs . . .

More for labor

I intend to fully utilize the federal tax credit that will serve as an incentive to the private sector to hire those who have been left in the back waters of our society . . .

I intend to have as a major part of my program in the coming year an effort . . . to make sure that the work place is as safe as humanly possible . . .

Next, we have to increase our benefits in workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance to bring them into line with the inflationary realities of today . . .

I also wish to put into the general fund of California a significant program to enforce the labor standards. These standards of minimum wage, worker safety and other work rules are the surest and sometimes the only protection of the working poor . . .

I will support efforts before the California Legislature to augment the Fair Employment Practices Act to include prohibitions against discriminations based on sexual preference . . .

Health and housing

Next, health costs. They have been doubling . . . at twice the rate of inflation . . . I have set up a commission. It will be coming in with recommendations and I will seek to have the most prominent of those regulations put into effect . . . Our Medi-Cal program is in need of reform . . . It will not be done overnight, but the Medi-Cal program can be reformed and can be improved over time without hurting the beneficiaries and in fact getting a great deal more for the money that we are now putting in . . .

Next, housing . . . We will have to change some of our regulations and the state of California will have to play a more ambitious role in working with the private sector to increase the supply of affordable housing.

Next, bail reform . . . I think we should move closer to the federal system so that the ten percent non-returnable premium is changed in such a way that more people who have not been found guilty and who can meet the proper standards can be put out on a bail system that is as just and as fair as we can make it . . .

We see in our own San Joaquin Valley the salts accumulating in our prime agricultural lands, and if we do not find a way to remove them and take them out of the soil, then the same fate that confronted the civilizations of Northern Africa and of the Tigris and Euphrates will confront us here in California. It will cost hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars, but it is investment in the future . . . We must also complete our water plan. We will build transfer facilities, storage facilities, and as we do, we have to link with that ambitious program ground water management . . .

Streams and sun

The California Conservation Corps can provide the person power to restore our streams in such a way that both the commercial and recreational industries that rely on fishing can be expanded . . .

We are leading the nation in the development of solar energy, but a great deal needs to be done . . . Our SolarCal Council has put forth a series of recommendations and I will be suggesting a significant number of them for implementation . . .

Next, I intend to push for a restructuring of our government finance at the local and the state level. We have to determine what shall the state do and what shall the local governments do. It will take at least two years. We will need, again, a temporary bailout, but the following year should be the last year . . .

Finally, I want to make some mention of civil service reform. I am going to call upon the Little Hoover Commission to examine ways of making our state service more flexible, more productive . . . As we struggle through the uncertainties of the days ahead it is not a time for partisan carping, it is not a time for the executive to square off against the legislative branch, but for all of us to try to work together, recognizing that the period in which we live is very uncertain and our future is by no means guaranteed.

AND A REPUBLICAN VIEW . . .

The following response was prepared by Assembly minority leader Paul Priolo at the request of the Journal.

For perhaps the first time the Governor of California has chosen to deliver his state-of-the-state message in three parts. It is impossible to review either the state-of-the-state message, the inaugural address or the state budget without considering the other documents.

Taken as a whole, it is plain that, for the most part, the Republican Party has been the idea factory for the Governor. While the actual state-of-the-state message was more Democratic and liberal than either the budget or the inaugural address, still we can take heart that our ideas on a balanced federal budget, inflation, spending limits on state and local government programs, tax cuts — and other programs — have been adopted by the Governor.

And let us state plainly that we intend to continue to provide ideas for the betterment of the people and we intend to keep seeking the support of the Governor for those ideas.

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But there is another role which we intend to assume.

We, the Republican Party, intend to be the conscience of the Governor.

We are taking up this role because, quite frankly, we are a bit puzzled and a bit disturbed by the Governor's new stance.

We have heard many of his words before and the track record of the Governor does not inspire confidence when it comes to action.

We believe that many of the Governor's words — particularly his call for a balanced federal budget — are a message of hope for the people of California.

We do not believe that on so important an issue for the people of this state and nation that partisan difference with the Governor should prevent us from acknowledging that this is — and has been — a Republican program and that we still support it.

But — and this is a big but — the record of the Governor when it comes to action is not a good one.

Call to battle

We believe that the people should have a sign of good faith from the Governor that he intends to back up his call for a balanced federal budget.

I have already called upon him to come before the various legislative committees and testify in favor of the resolution before the Legislature and I hope that by the time this is published, he has already gone before the legislative committees. If not, I again call upon him to enter the battle and testify before the committees.

He should lay his prestige on the line and he should confront those opponents of a balanced federal budget even though many of these opponents are high-ranking members of the Governor's own party.

Now I want to make it clear that support for a balanced federal budget and the Governor's position on that issue does not mean that Republicans support the Governor on all other issues.

We applaud his conservative stance, we want him to act on his words but we still have some differences with the Governor.

He has called, for example, for a $1 billion tax cut. We believe it could be more. There is, after all, several billion dollars more in state surplus and we believe it should be returned to the people.

Stop collecting

We also believe the state should stop trying to bail out local last year — is to stop collecting the income tax until the surplus is wiped out. This method has the obvious advantage of letting the people keep the money without collecting it in the first place.

We also believe the state should stop trying to bailout local government. The message of Proposition 13 was not to use state tax money to allow local government to continue business as usual. The message of Proposition 13 was that all levels of government should learn to do with less money.

If local governments need more money they should go openly and honestly to the people in their jurisdiction and say that they need more money for such-and-such program and ask the people to approve a tax increase as provided for in Proposition 13.

The message of Proposition 13 was that government should learn to budget like a family: There is just so much money available and decisions — hard decisions — must be made as to how that money should be spent.

A family does not run up bills and then go to their neighbors and demand the money to pay those bills. But government has been acting like that and the message of Proposition 13 is simply: Stop it.

Frankly, I'm not sure that the Governor has yet gotten that part of the Proposition 13 message, and I think that, in our role as the Governor's conscience, it is our job to help him get the message.

We think it is also important for us to help the Governor by pointing out some areas which he did not address in his three-part state-of-the-state message.

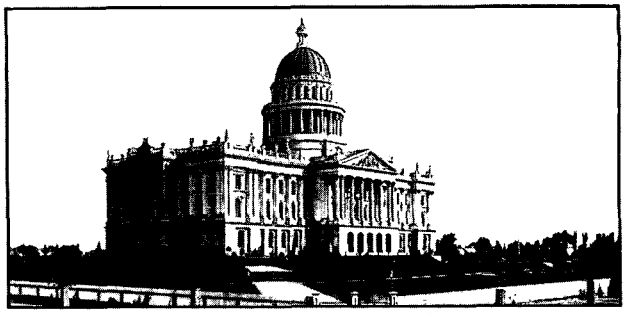
Missing elements

We know Governor Brown is busy as he pursues the presidency and we want to help him keep his commitments to the people of California.

- The Governor did not talk about the need for catastrophic health care for the average middle-class family.
- He did not give his ideas on what the proper role of state and local government should be in the post-Proposition 13 era.
- He did not talk about what he believes are essential state services.
- He did not explain why he called for elimination of some fish hatcheries in his budget but later called for expanded fish hatcheries in the state-of-the-state message. Surely he meant to explain this apparent inconsistency.
- He did not explain what he meant by an "appropriate" constitutional limit to state and local spending. In the past such qualifiers as "appropriate" have been used by people who wish to appear as though they support an idea but who, in fact, plan to oppose any concrete proposal because it is "inappropriate." We are confident that the Governor is not that devious but it would help if he explained what he means by "appropriate."
- He did not talk about court reform, although he has promised specific proposals in this area in the past.
- He did not discuss education.
- He did not discuss his position on any of the busing legislation which is before the Legislature this year. Busing is, of course, a great issue in many parts of the state and surely the Governor did not intend to ignore it when he discussed the state of the state.

There are also other areas of concern to the people of the state which the Governor did not touch on in his three-part discussion of California and its future.

We intend to continue to help the Governor and call attention to these areas during the course of the year.



Roster gamble time

Every year about this time, we ask ourselves: How many copies of the **California Journal Roster and Government Guide** should we print?

Some years, we run out of copies and have to disappoint some of our prospective purchasers. (On occasion, we concede, we print a few too many.) The **Roster** is included in this month's **Journal.** We have taken an educated guess as to what the reprint demand will total. But we could be far off the mark, and we urge every organization and individual wishing to purchase **Rosters** at our low rates — unchanged the past two years — to order them immediately.

Send orders to **California Journal Press,** 1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814.

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The year many Democrats voted more like Republicans

In the election year of 1978, quite a few Assembly Democrats apparently felt the need to vote more like Republicans to maximize their chances for re-election. The *Journal's* compilation of independence ratings for legislators (see box for explanation of how they are compiled) showed that only two Democrats posted maverick percentages above 40 percent last year. But in 1978, there were nine Democrats above the 40 percent mark. Overall, however, the voting patterns of Lower House Democrats did not change much because liberals from "safe" districts did not move to the right. In fact, the average Democrat bolted the party majority 20 percent of the time in last year's rankings and 19 percent of the time in this year's ratings (1978 votes).

Assembly Democrats posting the most significant changes in ratings: Walter Ingalls of Riverside, up from 28 to 41; Carmen Perino of Stockton, up from 30 to 42; Richard Robinson of Santa Ana, up from 20 to 37; Mike Cullen of Long Beach, up from 28 to 41; Richard Lehman of Fresno, up from 13 to 24; Joe Montoya of El Monte, up from 16 to 37; Peter Chacon of San Diego, up from 16 to 29.

Ingalls, Perino, Cullen and Montoya were engaged in difficult campaigns during the year, as were some of the other Democrats posting high percentages — Larry Chimbole of Palmdale, Ron Cordova of El Toro, Fred Chel of Long Beach, Dennis Mangers of Huntington Beach and Tom Suitt of Palm Springs. A high maverick rating usually means that a Democrat is more conservative and that a Republican is more liberal than the average party representative.

How the ratings were compiled

Only key votes printed in the Journal's *Roll Call during the year were included in the analysis. All unanimous party votes were eliminated, as were those in which there was no clear party majority for or against a measure.*

That left only votes in which there were clear majority and minority positions within each party in each house. Absences were not counted either way.

Assembly Democrats
(59 votes)

Percentage of independent voting	
60	Chimbole (56%) Cordova (54%) McAlister (51%)
50	Thurman (47%) Chel (46%) Deddeh, Perino (42%) Cullen, Ingalls (41%)
40	Montoya, Robinson (37%) Mangers (34%) Suitt (31%)
30	Chacon, Thomas (29%) Mori (25%) Boatwright, Lehman, Papan, N. Waters (24%) Young (22%) Bane, Miller, Tucker (20%)
20	AVERAGE, McVittie (19%) Fenton, Greene, Gualco, Knox (17%) Vicencia (15%) Rosenthal, Wornum (14%) Brown, Kapiloff, Keysor (12%) Egeland, Keene, Vasconcellos (10%)
10	Berman, Hughes, Lockyer, Wray (8%) Calvo, Fazio, Roos, M. Waters (7%) Agnos, Alatorre, Bates, Hart, Torres (5%) Dixon, Goggin, Levine (3%) Mello (2%) Gage, McCarthy (0)

There was no comparable trend within the Republican ranks in the Assembly — with the exception of Paul Bannai of Gardena, who rocketed from a below-average rating of 13 percent last year to top the list for 1978. Bannai represents a heavily Democratic area and has been a Democratic target at every election. Several other Republicans recorded significant increases but not because of election difficulties. One of them was Ken Maddy of Fresno, who posted a low rating of only five percent last year when he was warming up to run for governor. He reverted to form in 1978 with a 24-percent mark. The others were Frank Lanterman of La Canada, up from 18 to 27; Stan Statham of Chico, up from 15 to 25, and Bill Thomas of Bakersfield, up from 11 to 24. The biggest drop was recorded by Marilyn Ryan of Redondo Beach, last year's GOP leader. Her rating went from 40 to 29.

Assembly Republicans
(55 votes)

Percentage of independent voting	
40	Bannai (31%)
30	Imbrecht, Ryan (29%) Lanterman, Nestande (27%) Statham (25%) Maddy, Thomas (24%) Hallett, Hayden (20%)
20	AVERAGE (19%) Arnett (18%) Duffy, Ellis, Lewis, Stirling (16%) Collier, Priolo (15%) Cline, Dannemeyer (13%) Chappie (11%)
10	Antonovich (9%) Craven, Lancaster (7%)

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Ingalls

Ryan

Bannai

Alquist

Senate Democrats
(60 votes)

Percentage of independent voting

40 Alquist (37%)
Zenovich (33%)
Stiern, Vuich (32%)
Presley (30%)

30 Dills, Gregorio (27%)
Foran, Garamendi (25%)
Wilson (23%)
Holmdahl (20%)

20 AVERAGE (18%)
Roberti (17%)
Dunlap, Sieroty (15%)
P. Carpenter, Ayala (13%)
Holden, Rains, Robbins, Smith (12%)
Garcia, Rodda (10%)

10 Petris, Greene (8%)
Mills (5%)
Song (3%)

Among Senate Democrats, there was something of a trend toward conservatism. Last year, only Walter Stiern of Bakersfield was above 30 percent. This year, he was joined by three colleagues in that category. And veteran Alfred Alquist of San Jose, once considered a liberal legislator, moved to the top of the heap with an eight-point rise in his rating. George Zenovich of Fresno advanced to second place with a 10-point gain. Rose Ann Vuich of Dinuba tied Stiern for third with a seven-point increase. Other major gains were recorded by Ralph Dills of Gardena, up 13 points, and John Foran of San Francisco, up 14 points.

Two Democratic senators went in the other direction. John Holmdahl of Hayward, who has been gradually moving down into the pack from atop the maverick list, dropped five points. And Alfred Song of Monterey Park, facing a rough primary election struggle (which he lost), plunged from 21 to 3 percent.

Marks

Senate Republicans
(34 votes)

Percentage of independent voting

70 Marks (65%)

60

50

40 Behr (38%)

30 Nejedly (26%)
Beverly, Richardson (23%)

20 AVERAGE (18%)
D. Carpenter, Deukmejian, Nimmo (12%)

10 Briggs, Campbell, Stull (9%)
Cusanovich, Russell (6%)
Johnson (0)

The two traditional leaders among Senate Republicans changed positions. Milton Marks of San Francisco moved to the top with a rating of 65 percent (from 48 in 1977) and Peter Behr of Inverness dropped to 35 percent (from 54 last year). John Nejedly of Walnut Creek, who had been moving into the mainstream in recent years, reasserted his independence with a mark of 26, up from 20 last year.

Aside from Behr, two other Republicans posted major drops in their ratings. Newton Russell of Glendale plunged from 22 to 6, and Ray Johnson of Chico went from 12 to zero. Only two other lawmakers of either party registered zero ratings, indicating that they never strayed from the party majority on those votes used in the *Journal* compilation. They were Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy of San Francisco and Democratic Assemblyman Mike Gage of Napa.

Nejedly

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CHARTING THE LEGISLATURE

The following is a list of significant bills pending before the Legislature on January 22nd:

SUBJECT	BILLS	DESCRIPTION	STATUS
AGRICULTURAL LAND	AB 262 and ACA 20 (Lehman)	Prohibits the sale of California farm land to non-resident aliens.	*Assembly Finance, Insurance and Commerce Committee.*
AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE	AB 106 (Young) AB 116 (McAlister)	Both bills enact a system of mandatory no-fault motor vehicle insurance.	*Assembly Finance, Insurance and Commerce Committee.*
BAIL	AB 2 (Berman)	Reforms bail system to provide for a 10% bail deposit and revises the conditions for bail release.	*Assembly Criminal Justice Committee.*
BEVERAGE CONTAINERS	SB 4 (Rains)	Imposes a 5-cent refund value on beer and soft drink containers.	*Senate Natural Resources and Wildlife Committee.*
BUSING	SCA 2 (Robbins) AB 5 (Cline) ACA 6 (Cline) ACA 7 (Cline) ACA 19 (Young)	These measures seek to prohibit or restrict compulsory busing for the alleviation of school segregation. AB 5 specifically prohibits the use of state funds for busing purposes.	*SCA 2 passed the Senate, 31 - 5. AB 5, ACA 6 and ACA 7 are pending in the Assembly Education Committee. ACA 19 is in the Assembly Judiciary Committee.*
CAMPAIGN FUNDS	AB 222 (McCarthy)	Prohibits a former officeholder or candidate from spending surplus campaign funds for personal use.	*Assembly Elections and Reapportionment Committee.*
CRIMINAL JUSTICE	SB 149 (Smith)	Would override the state Supreme Court's *Tanner* decision, which struck down the "use a gun, go to prison" law.	*Passed Senate 39 - 0. In Assembly Criminal Justice Committee.*
	SB 134 (Holmdahl)	Revises law making insanity a defense to a criminal charge by enacting a definition of "insanity" in conformity with recent court decisions.	*Senate Judiciary Committee.*
EMPLOYMENT	AB 1 and AB 188 (Agnos) SB 3 (Marks) SB 18 (Roberti)	Prohibits discriminatory employment practices based upon a person's sexual orientation or the refusal to grant an employer sexual favors.	*AB 1 and AB 188 are pending in the Assembly Labor, Employment and Consumer Affairs Committee. SB 3 and SB 18 are in the Senate Industrial Relations Committee.*
ENERGY	SB 117 (Campbell)	Abolishes the State Energy Commission and transfers its functions to the Public Utilities Commission.	*Senate Energy and Public Utilities Committee.*
GOVERNMENT SPENDING	SCA 1 (Smith) SCA 3 (Rains) SCA 6 (Wilson) SCA 8 (Garamendi) ACA 2 (Boatwright) ACA 9 (Leonard)	These proposed constitutional amendments would either limit the annual appropriations of government (SCA 3 and 6, ACA 2 and 9) or the annual tax revenues which may be collected by governmental entities (SCA 1 and 8).	*All Senate measures are pending in the Senate Revenue and Taxation Committee. All Assembly measures are in the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee.*
	ACR 15 (Naylor)	Endorses the proposed Gann government spending limitation initiative.	*Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee.*
MARIJUANA	SB 184 (Presley) AB 241 (Rosenthal)	Permits doctors to prescribe marijuana under controlled conditions to persons suffering from glaucoma or cancer.	*SB 184 is in the Senate Health and Welfare Committee. AB 241 is in the Assembly Health Committee.*
PRODUCT LIABILITY	AB 149-154 (Stirling)	Proposes a major revision of product liability laws to redefine manufactuers' and retailers' liability, limit punitive damages, and impose a statute of limitations on actions against manufacturers.	*Assembly Judiciary Committee.*
RENTER RELIEF	AB 15 (Roos) AB 81 (Bates) SB 164 (Wilson)	AB 15 increases the renter's income tax credit from $37 to $70; AB 81 increases it to $300; and SB 164 increases it to $137.	*AB 15 and AB 81 are in the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee. SB 164 is in the Senate Revenue and Taxation Committee.*

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Madison, Hamilton and Brown

By LEO RENNERT

Jerry Brown's relations with Washington have never been very good. He began by ignoring the federal government. At the start of his first term, he acted as if national developments mattered little to California. It took him almost a year to staff a Washington office. Those were the days when Brown was determined to be unlike other governors. He shunned their meetings and, by golly, wasn't about to make any pilgrimages to the banks of the Potomac.

PRESIDENTIAL FEVER changed all that. Brown soon discovered that tangling with Washington can be a great gubernatorial sport and a ticket toward national prominence. Beating up on Jerry Ford or Jimmy Carter is a fun pastime -- particularly for someone who'd like to be in their place. It wasn't long before Brown began lecturing Carter on nuclear energy, Israel, urban policy, Mexico, youth employment, Canada and outer space.

Now, however, with the 1980 presidential season about to get under way, the Governor has taken another sharp turn. He no longer is jabbing at Carter policies in random fashion or submitting detailed wish-lists to Congress. Those games are over. In a much more combative mood, Brown is mounting a no-holds-barred assault not just against the temporary occupants of the seats of power in Washington, but against the basic functioning rules of the federal government. His attack is as much institutional as it is political. The Governor doesn't want just to unseat Carter; he's also going after the U.S. Constitution. Historians may have to change the credits to read: Madison, Hamilton and Brown.

Political cynics, of course, argue Brown's call for a constitutional amendment to require balanced federal budgets — and the convening of a national constitutional convention if Congress balks — is merely a handy political ploy to grab headlines and that he really couldn't care less whether such a basic constitutional revision ever comes to pass. But the Governor doesn't see it that way. While he may be a master at media exploitation, his aim is more serious than gaining temporary publicity. Brown privately discussed the idea of endorsing the constitutional amendment for at least six months. He sees a vast public that is ready to kick over the traces, abandon conventional nostrums, and follow a leader who can slay the dragon of inflation and hold out the promise of a stabler, more tranquil life.

The most ironic aspect of Brown's strategy is that he's offering a nostalgic trip back to quieter times when the dollar meant something and the earnings of a lifetime had a solid economic base; but in order to reach that objective he's prepared to take the revolutionary path of putting the Constitution up for grabs. You need a tornado, as Dorothy discovered, to get to Oz.

The consensus at the White House and among Democrats on Capitol Hill is that Brown's gamble will not pay off. Even some of his closest advisers, in trying to dissuade him from his new course, argued that the way to challenge Carter for the nomination is from the left, not the right. "It's the liberals who are in an uproar against the President and that's where an anti-Carter coalition can be formed," said one disenchanted Brown supporter. "By jumping on the balanced-budget bandwagon of the far right, he's given himself almost no maneuvering room or any discernible constituency in the Democratic Party."

Actually, Brown couldn't move to the left even if he had wanted to. That path was blocked by Howard Jarvis and Proposition 13. In order to nail down a second gubernatorial term and preserve his launching pad toward the White House, Brown felt he had to become a born-again budget cutter. To abandon that role after only six months and join the liberal chorus against Carter's budget cuts would have been too obvious and too fast a political metamorphosis — even by Brown standards.

By positioning himself to the right of Carter, the Governor chose the only open avenue of attack — and evidently is willing to accept the considerable political risks that go with it. His advocacy of a balanced-budget amendment puts him squarely at odds with his closest congressional ally, Democratic Senator Alan Cranston. In fact, by calling attention to Cranston's opposition to such an amendment, Brown may have hurt the senator's re-election bid next year. Republicans now can use Brown's new yardstick of fiscal conservatism when they portray Cranston as one of those profligate "false prophets" the Governor railed against.

Many Democrats in California's House delegation were outraged. They were quick to point out that the federal budget easily could be balanced if California and the rest of the states want to forego revenue-sharing and other types of financial largesse from Washington. Brown's own Washington office may have to change its lobbying agenda. After all, how can you ask Congress to add more money to the Carter budget for such pet Brown projects as juvenile-justice programs and urban parks when the Governor complains that the federal "money machine" has got to be put in reverse? Before Brown issued his new manifesto, various California interest groups — agriculture, water development, higher education, local government, urban renewal, transportation — were poised for tough budget battles on Capitol Hill. Now they're afraid the Governor may have pulled the rug from under them.

BROWN'S PUSH for constitutional revision also poses a direct challenge to Senator Edward Kennedy. As new chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Kennedy is not about to smooth the path for any balanced-budget amendment. And he's already tagged Brown's alternate strategy of a constitutional convention as an "ominous development for the nation and a serious threat to the integrity of the Constitution."

The Governor, however, is betting that the old power centers are melting away, that Carter and Kennedy are not in tune with rising popular feelings, that newspapers which blister him editorially have lost their punch. To Brown, traditional constituencies and power equations are becoming meaningless. While others hold on to fragile thrones, he is playing a longshot that the right man and the right cause will emerge at the right moment. In his own way, Brown has opted to play the part of the Ayatollah Khomeini of American politics.

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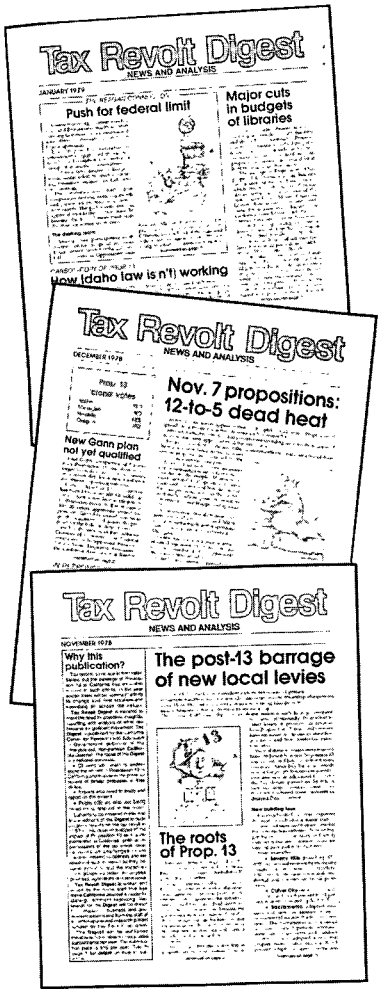
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